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# PROCEEDINGS

OF

# The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia

FOR THE YEARS 1910, 1911, 1912

VOL. 26

FOUNDED DECEMBER 28, 1857

PHILADELPHIA
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1913

# THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA

The Numismatic Society of Philadelphia (the first society of the kind in the United States), founded December 28, 1857, was incorporated by an Act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, approved on the 19th day of February, A. D. 1858 (Pamphlet Laws for 1858, p. 68). The name of the Society was changed to The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, by an Act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, approved on the 23d day of March, A.D. 1865 (Pamphlet Laws for 1865, p. 654).

Stated meetings are held in January, February, March, April, November and December of each year, at the residence of the members. At these meetings papers are read (frequently illustrated by stereopticon views), and coins and objects of antiquarian interest exhibited. The Proceedings are published every third year.

Resident members pay an initiation fee of $5 and an annual contribution fee of $5. The latter is due on the first of January of each year. Life membership in this Society may be secured by the payment of $50.

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# FOUNDERS OF THE SOCIETY

ARTHUR G. COFFIN.....1015 Clinton Street

JOSEPH J. MICKLEY.....927 Market Street

WILLIAM S. VAUX.....1700 Arch Street

JOHN BOHLEN.....1510 Walnut Street

MARK W. COLLET, M.D.....329 South Broad Street

J. LEDYARD HODGE.....139 South Fifth Street

SAMUEL H. FULTON.....615 South Ninth Street

MONTGOMERY L. FREDERICK.....153 South Fourth Street

ALFRED B. TAYLOR.....Ninth and Walnut Streets

# CHARTER

## AN ACT

### To Incorporate The Numismatic Society of Philadelphia.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That Joseph J. Mickley, Arthur G. Coffin, Alfred B. Taylor, Mark W. Collet, William S. Vaux, John Bohlen, Samuel H. Fulton, J. Ledyard Hodge, Montgomery L. Frederick, and their associates and successors, shall be and they are hereby created and constituted a body corporate, by the name, style and title of The Numismatic Society of Philadelphia; the object of this corporation shall be the collection of coin and medals for the purpose of holding the same for scientific purposes; and the said corporation shall not buy, sell or deal in any coin or money for the purpose of gain; and by that name shall have perpetual succession, shall be able to make contracts relative to the said institution, to sue and be sued, and shall be capable in law and equity of taking, purchasing, receiving, holding and conveying any estate, real, personal or mixed, for the use and benefit of the said society or body politic: *Provided,* That the clear yearly value or income of the estate, real, personal or mixed, of the society, shall not at any time exceed the sum of six thousand dollars.

Sec. 2. That the said society shall consist of resident members, of corresponding members and of honorary members, who shall all be elected under such rules, and upon such terms, as the society may establish; that the right of voting, of holding office, and of transacting business, shall be confined solely to resident members.

Sec. 3. That the officers of the society shall consist of a president, and such other officers as may, in the opinion of the society, be considered necessary and proper for the accomplishment of its objects; that all of these officers shall be elected annually by the society, but if such annual election shall not be held at the stated time, the society shall not thereby be dissolved but the existing officers shall continue in office until others are elected.

Sec. 4. That it may and shall be lawful for the society to have a common seal, and to change the same at pleasure; and also to establish and put in execution such by-laws, rules and regulations as may be deemed necessary and convenient for the government of the said society: *Provided*, The same are not contrary to this charter, or the constitution and laws of the United States, or of this commonwealth.

A. Brower Longaker,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

William H. Welsh,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved—The nineteenth day of February, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight.

Wm. F. Packer.

---

## A SUPPLEMENT

To an Act Incorporating The Numismatic Society of Philadelphia, Approved February Nineteenth, Anno Domini One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-eight.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, That the name, style and title of The Numismatic Society of Philadelphia be and the same is hereby changed; and the said corporation shall, hereafter, be known as The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, whose objects shall be to encourage and promote numismatic science and antiquarian research, with all the rights, privileges and immunities, and subject to all the restrictions, not herein modified, of the act incorporating said Numismatic Society of Philadelphia.

Arthur G. Olmsted,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

William J. Turrell,
Speaker of the House.

Approved—The Twenty-third day of March, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five.

A. G. Curtin.

# CONSTITUTION

## ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be called "The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia." Its object shall be to encourage and promote numismatic science and antiquarian research.

## ARTICLE II.

The Society shall consist of Resident Members, Corresponding Members, and Honorary Members.

## ARTICLE III.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, one or more resident Vice-Presidents, an honorary Vice-President for such other of the United States as the Society may from time to time determine, not to exceed one for each State, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, an Historiographer, one or more Curators, and a Librarian, all of whom shall be elected annually, at the stated meeting in January.

In case an election shall not be held at the meeting thus designated, the officers then acting shall continue in office until the time of the next regular election shall arrive.

## ARTICLE IV.

The Society shall have a common seal.

## ARTICLE V.

The right of voting, of holding offices, and of transacting business, lies solely with the Resident Members. Honorary and Corresponding Members shall have all other privileges of Resident Members.

## ARTICLE VI.

The Society may establish such By-laws for its government and regulation as may be deemed necessary and proper.

## ARTICLE VII.

No change shall be made in this Constitution unless by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at a stated meeting, notice of such proposed change having been submitted in writing at a previous stated meeting.

---

# BY-LAWS

## CHAPTER I.

### OF OFFICERS AND THEIR DUTIES.

ARTICLE I. The President shall occupy the chair at the meetings of the Society, enforce the laws, preserve order, regulate the debates, and shall give the casting vote when necessary.

ART. II. In the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents, or in the absence of all, a President *pro tempore* shall occupy the chair, and perform the duties of the President.

ART. III. Any such persons as shall in the opinion of the Society merit that distinction, may, on the recommendation of three members, be proposed, in writing, as candidates for Honorary Vice-Presidents.

ART. IV. The Recording Secretary shall take and preserve correct minutes of the proceedings of the Society, preserve all documents belonging thereto that may come into his possession, notify all committees of their appointment, and keep a correct list of the members of the Society, with the date of their election, resignation, or death. At the stated meeting in January he shall make a report showing the number in the various classes of membership, giving the gains or losses during the year.

ART. V. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct and preserve the correspondence of the Society, notify all members of their election, and acknowledge all donations by letter. He shall keep correct copies of all letters written on the business of the Society, and shall read a minute of his action at each stated meeting.

ART. VI. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of the funds of the Society and the investments belonging to it. He

shall attend to the collection and payment of moneys and keep a clear and detailed account of all receipts and expenditures and render a report or statement of the same to the Society at each stated meeting and also present at the meeting in January of each year a report or statement of the cash and investments on hand showing the cash and investments belonging to the Permanent Fund and the cash belonging to the General Fund and showing the receipts and expenditures for the preceding calendar year. He shall also report and account at any other time or times when called upon by the Society so to do.

Art. VII. The Historiographer shall collect and preserve materials for the history of the Society, and for biographies of its members, and whenever deemed advisable shall prepare the same for publication.

## CHAPTER II.

### OF MEMBERS.

Article I. Any candidate for resident membership must be proposed in writing by two members at one stated meeting, and may be balloted for at the next stated meeting of the Society, when two negative votes shall defeat an election.

Art. II. No person residing within twenty miles from the City Hall in Philadelphia can be chosen a Corresponding Member; nor shall any Corresponding Member continue such after he shall have removed permanently to within twenty miles from the City Hall, Philadelphia. In such cases a re-election is not necessary, but the Corresponding Member becomes liable for the annual contribution, and is entitled to all the privileges of a Resident Member.

Art. III. Honorary Members and Corresponding Members may be elected at the meeting at which they are proposed, but two negative votes shall defeat an election.

Art. IV. If any person shall be balloted for and rejected, or his name shall be withdrawn previous to the ballot, no note of such rejection or withdrawal shall be made on the minutes of the Society.

Art. V. No person thus rejected shall again be proposed nor shall any one whose name shall have been withdrawn previous

to the ballot be again balloted for until after the expiration of six months from said withdrawal, nor then without the unanimous consent of all members present.

Art. VI. All such persons as shall in the opinion of the Society merit that distinction, may, on the recommendation of three members, be proposed as candidates for honorary membership at one stated meeting, and be balloted for at the next stated meeting, when a unanimous vote shall be necessary to an election.

Art. VII. The Director of the United States Mint shall *ex officio* be an Honorary Member of the Society.

## CHAPTER III.

### OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND DONATIONS.

Article I. Every Resident Member elect shall pay to the Treasurer, within three months after his election, an initiation fee of five dollars.

Art. II. Every Resident Member shall pay annually on the first of January to the Treasurer dues of five dollars. Any Resident Member removing permanently from the City shall become, if he so desires, a Corresponding Member of the Society; if, however, he avails himself of this privilege and in consequence is relieved from further annual dues, the right to vote at any meeting is also withdrawn.

Art. III. Any member may become a Life Member of the Society by a contribution of fifty dollars, which payment shall exonerate him from all further pecuniary contributions to the Society.

Art. IV. All initiation fees and life membership fees shall be placed in the Permanent Fund. All money belonging to the Permanent Fund shall be deposited separately in a Saving Fund to be selected by the Society.

Art. V. No pecuniary contributions shall be required from Honorary Vice-Presidents, or from Honorary or Corresponding Members.

Art. VI. All donations to the Society shall have the name of the donor attached to them, and shall be registered in the catalogues, and recorded in the Minutes.

## CHAPTER IV.

### OF RESIGNATIONS AND EXPULSIONS.

ARTICLE I. Any member shall have leave to resign upon application in writing, provided he can produce a certificate from the Treasurer that all arrearages due from him to the Society have been discharged.

ART. II. A member may be expelled from the Society for sufficient cause, by a vote of three-fourths of the members at a stated meeting, notice of the intention of the Society to consider the subject of expulsion of a member having been given at a previous stated meeting.

ART. III. When the dues of any member shall remain unpaid for the space of two years, the Treasurer shall notify him by registered mail that, unless the same be *paid* within one calendar month thereafter, his membership shall cease; and, in case such dues shall not be paid pursuant to such notice, he shall be reported to the Society, and thereupon he shall cease to be a member of the Society.

ART. IV. No member shall be expelled without having had an opportunity of being heard in his own defense, and to that end he shall receive notice from the Secretary of the offense with which he is charged. A member thus expelled shall under no circumstances be received as a candidate for re-election.

## CHAPTER V.

### OF COMMITTEES.

ARTICLE I. The Standing Committees of the Society shall each be composed of three Resident Members, who shall be elected annually at the stated meeting in January, and shall be as follows:

1. *On Numismatics*, of which the Curator of Numismatics shall be a member *ex officio*. The duties of this committee shall be to collect and preserve matters relative to the Science of Numismatics, and to present to the Society such questions as it may think proper; and to prepare replies to such inquiries as may from time to time be referred to it.

2. *On Antiquities*, of which the Curator of Antiquities shall be a member *ex officio*. The duties of this committee shall be

to collect and preserve matters relative to archæological research, and to present to the Society such questions as it may think proper, and to prepare replies to such inquiries as may from time to time be referred to it.

3. *On Genealogy*, of which the Historiographer shall be a member *ex officio*. The duties of this committee shall be to collect and preserve all matters germane to the Science of Genealogy, and to present to the Society such questions as it may think proper, and to prepare replies to such inquiries as may from time to time be referred to it.

4. *On Library*, of which the Librarian shall be a member *ex officio*. The duties of this committee shall be to procure, with the funds placed at its disposal by the Society, such works as may be directed to be purchased, and to report from time to time what books it may consider desirable to be obtained for the Society. It shall also be its duty to collect all such books, papers, pamphlets, etc., as it may deem proper to be placed in the Library. It shall have power to make such sales and exchanges of duplicates and of works not germane to the objects of the Society as may be deemed desirable.

5. *On Publications*. The duty of this committee shall be to take charge of the publication of the Proceedings of this Society, and also to collect the papers and illustrations as soon as possible for such other publications as the Society may from time to time direct.

6. *On Membership*, to whom shall be referred for consideration and report all candidates for membership in the Society.

7. *On Programme*, whose duty shall be to insure the reading of a paper, the exhibition of antiquities, discussion thereof, arranging for the place in which the Society shall meet, and the nature of the entertainment for the members, if any; and it shall have power to act, subject to the control of the Society itself.

## CHAPTER VI.

### OF LIBRARY.

Article I. The Librarian shall take charge of all books and pamphlets belonging to the Society, and shall report in writing on the condition of the same annually at the stated meeting

in January. He shall be the custodian of the common seal, and shall have in his care the extra copies of the Proceedings of the Society.

Art. II. The Librarian shall keep a card catalogue of all books and pamphlets belonging to the Society. When books are presented the name of the donor shall be written on the book plate, together with the date of the gift.

Art. III. The Librarian shall keep an accession catalogue and at each stated meeting shall make a written report on the accessions of every kind since the last stated meeting.

Art. IV. Members of the Society alone shall have access to the Library, and may borrow, not exceeding one volume at a time, upon giving a receipt for the same to the Librarian in a book to be kept for the special purpose, containing also an obligation to be signed, to return the volume uninjured, within thirty days.

Art. V. The Librarian shall be responsible for all works committed to his charge.

## CHAPTER VII.

### OF CABINET.

Article I. The Curators shall take charge of the Cabinets, together with all specimens that may, by donations or otherwise, come into the possession of the Society, and shall report on the condition of the Cabinets annually at the stated meeting in January.

Art. II. The Curators shall make out two copies of a catalogue of all specimens belonging to the Society, adding thereto a description of each specimen as received. When specimens are presented to the Society, the name of the donor shall be inserted in the catalogues, together with the date of the gift.

Art. III. One of the catalogues so made out shall be open to the inspection of members, and the other shall be placed in the archives of the Society.

Art. IV. No specimen belonging to the Society shall be loaned from the room under any pretence or for any purpose whatever, and no moulds or models of specimens shall be taken without the consent of the Society.

Art. V. The Curators alone shall have liberty to open the Cabinets, and shall be responsible for all articles committed to their charge.

Art. VI. All specimens in the Cabinets must be properly labelled by the Curators, as far as practicable.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF MEETINGS.

Article I. The stated meetings of the Society shall be held on the third Monday evening of the months of January, February, March, April, November, and December, at such time and place as the Society may from time to time determine.

Art. II. Special meetings may be called by resolution of the Society, by public notice from the President, or at the request of three members in writing.

Art. III. At a special meeting, after the minutes of the preceding meetings shall have been read, the meeting shall immediately proceed to the consideration of the business for which it was specially convened, and no other business shall be brought before the Society at such special meeting.

Art. IV. The order of business at the stated meetings of the Society shall be:

Reading of Minutes.
Report of Treasurer.
Report of other Officers and Committees.
Unfinished business.
New business.
Reading of papers.
Exhibition of antiquities.
Adjournment.

The stated meetings, unless otherwise ordered, shall, in one-half hour after having been convened, proceed to the reading of papers, exhibition of antiquities, etc.

The order of business at any meeting may be changed by unanimous consent of the members present.

Art. V. Five members shall constitute a quorum.

## CHAPTER IX.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

ARTICLE I. In all such points of order as are not noticed in these By-laws, the Society shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order.

ART. II. Every proposition to alter or amend these By-laws shall be submitted in writing at one stated meeting, and may be balloted for at the next stated meeting, when, upon receiving the votes of two-thirds of the members present, it shall become a part of the By-laws. But no amendment to the Constitution or By-laws shall be voted upon unless one week's previous notice of the proposed action on such amendment has been sent to each Resident Member.

ART. III. No one or more of these By-laws shall be suspended.

# OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

## SINCE ITS FOUNDATION, WITH THEIR TERMS OF OFFICE

### PRESIDENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Joseph J. Mickley | Jan. 1, 1858–Dec. 5, 1867 |
| Eli K. Price | Dec. 5, 1867–Nov. 15, 1884 |
| Daniel G. Brinton, M.D. | Dec. 4, 1884–July 31, 1899 |
| John T. Morris | Dec. 7, 1899–Dec. 1, 1904 |
| Charles E. Dana | Dec. 1, 1904– |

### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Arthur G. Coffin | Jan. 1, 1858–Jan. 5, 1860 |
| Richard W. Davids | Dec. 2, 1858–Jan. 1, 1861 |
| William P. Chandler | Dec. 16, 1861–Apr. 5, 1884 |
| William S. Vaux | Dec. 16, 1861–May 5, 1882 |
| William Duane | Feb. 1, 1866–Dec. 6, 1877 |
| Eli K. Price | Dec. 6, 1866–Dec. 5, 1867 |
| John Farnum | Dec. 5, 1867–June 11, 1872 |
| Edwin W. Lehman | Dec. 4, 1873–Nov. 2, 1895 |
| Daniel G. Brinton, M.D. | Dec. 6, 1877–Dec. 4, 1884 |
| Lewis A. Scott | Dec. 7, 1882–Aug. 11, 1896 |
| John R. Baker | Dec. 4, 1884–Dec. 2, 1886 |
| W. S. W. Ruschenberger | Dec. 2, 1886–Mar. 24, 1895 |
| Rev. Joseph F. Garrison | Dec. 2, 1886–Dec. 1897 |
| J. Sergeant Price | Dec. 2, 1886–Aug. 16, 1897 |
| Francis Jordan, Jr | Dec. 2, 1886–Sept. 10, 1911 |
| John R. Baker | Dec. 1, 1887–June 22, 1892 |
| Maxwell Sommerville | Dec. 7, 1893–May 5, 1904 |
| Robert H. Lamborn | Dec. 7, 1893–Jan. 14, 1895 |
| Cornelius Stevenson | Dec. 3, 1896– |
| John T. Morris | Dec. 2, 1897–Dec. 7, 1899 |
| R. C. H. Brock | Dec. 7, 1899–Aug. 8, 1906 |
| John T. Morris | Dec. 1, 1904– |
| John Story Jenks | Dec. 6, 1906– |
| Charles J. Cohen | Dec. 18, 1911– |

### CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

| | |
|---|---|
| William S. Vaux | Jan. 1, 1858–Dec. 16, 1861 |
| Emil Cauffman | Dec. 16, 1861–Dec. 7, 1865 |
| Charles Henry Hart | Dec. 7, 1865–Dec. 5, 1867 |
| Henry Phillips, Jr | Dec. 5, 1867–Dec. 3, 1890 |
| Benjamin Smith Lyman | Dec. 3, 1890–Dec. 1, 1904 |
| Charles J. Cohen | Dec. 1, 1904–Dec. 6, 1906 |
| W. W. Longstreth | Dec. 6, 1906–Dec. 19, 1907 |
| John W. Townsend | Dec. 19, 1907– |

## RECORDING SECRETARIES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Alfred B. Taylor | Jan. 1, 1858–Dec. 3, 1868 |
| Samuel L. Taylor | Dec. 3, 1868–June 2, 1870 |
| William Grier Hibler | June 2, 1870–Dec. 7, 1871 |
| J. Davis Duffield | Dec. 7, 1871–Dec. 5, 1872 |
| Charles Piers | Dec. 5, 1872–June 4, 1874 |
| Jacob Hays Carson | June 4, 1874–Dec. 6, 1883 |
| Stewart Culin | Dec. 6, 1883–Apr. 2, 1903 |
| Richard W. Davids | Dec. 3, 1903–Dec. 19, 1907 |
| W. W. Longstreth | Dec. 19, 1907–Dec. 20, 1909 |
| David Milne | Dec. 20, 1909– |

## TREASURERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| M. W. Collet, M.D. | Jan. 7, 1858–Dec. 16, 1861 |
| Henry Phillips, Jr | Dec. 16, 1861–Dec. 5, 1867 |
| Thomas E. McElroy | Dec. 5, 1867–Feb. 6, 1874 |
| Charles Henry Hart | May 2, 1874–Jan. 4, 1877 |
| Isaac Myer | Feb. 1, 1877–Dec. 6, 1877 |
| Henry Phillips, Jr | Dec. 6, 1877–Dec. 1, 1887 |
| Thomas Hockley | Dec. 1, 1888–Mar. 12, 1892 |
| Harry Rogers | Apr. 7, 1892–Dec. 1, 1904 |
| Francis C. Adler | Dec. 1, 1904–Dec. 20, 1909 |
| Alfred I. Phillips | Dec. 20, 1909– |

## HISTORIOGRAPHERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| William H. Welsh | Dec. 7, 1865–Dec. 5, 1867 |
| Charles Henry Hart | Dec. 5, 1867–Dec. 2, 1886 |
| Isaac Myer | Dec. 2, 1886–Dec. 5, 1889 |
| Frank Willing Leach | Dec. 5, 1889–Dec. 4, 1890 |
| Eli Kirk Price | Dec. 4, 1890–Dec. 7, 1893 |
| John T. Morris | Dec. 7, 1893–Dec. 2, 1897 |
| Inman Horner | Dec. 2, 1897–Dec. 6, 1906 |
| John Story Jenks | Dec. 6, 1906– |

## CURATORS.

(Prior to May 4, 1865, there was but one Curator.)

| | |
|---|---|
| J. Ledyard Hodge | Jan. 1, 1858–Nov. 7, 1861 |
| Richard W. Davids | Dec. 16, 1861–Sept. 4, 1862 |
| William S. Vaux | Dec. 4, 1862–May 4, 1865 |

## CURATORS OF NUMISMATICS.

| | |
|---|---|
| William S. Vaux | May 4, 1865–Dec. 6, 1866 |
| William J. Jenks | Dec. 6, 1866–Dec. 3, 1868 |
| Alfred B. Taylor | Dec. 3, 1868–Mar. 26, 1874 |
| Henry Phillips, Jr | Mar. 26, 1874–Dec. 3, 1874 |
| Robert C. Davis | Dec. 3, 1874–Aug. 24, 1888 |
| G. Albert Lewis | Dec. 6, 1888–Dec. 5, 1889 |
| Frederick D. Langenheim | Dec. 5, 1889–Dec. 7, 1905 |
| John T. Morris | Dec. 7, 1905–Dec. 6, 1906 |
| Frederick D. Langenheim | Dec. 6, 1906– |

## CURATORS OF ANTIQUITIES.

(Office created May 4, 1865.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Robert Coulton Davis | Dec. 7, 1865–Dec. 5, 1867 |
| Daniel Garrison Brinton, M.D. | Dec. 5, 1867–Dec. 6, 1877 |
| William Trautwine | Dec. 6, 1877–Dec. 4, 1879 |
| Philip Howard Law | Dec. 4, 1879–Dec. 2, 1880 |
| Francis Jordan, Jr. | Dec. 2, 1880–Dec. 7, 1882 |
| Edwin AtLee Barber | Dec. 7, 1882–Dec. 2, 1886 |
| William Spohn Baker | Dec. 2, 1886–Dec. 16, 1886 |
| G. Albert Lewis | Dec. 16, 1886–Dec. 1, 1887 |
| A. E. Outerbridge, Jr. | Dec. 1, 1887–Dec. 6, 1888 |
| Cornelius Stevenson | Dec. 6, 1888–Dec. 4, 1890 |
| Carl Edelheim | Dec. 4, 1890–Dec. 7, 1893 |
| B. N. Bailey | Dec. 7, 1893–Dec. 1, 1904 |
| David Milne | Dec. 1, 1904–Dec. 20, 1909 |
| Westcott Bailey | Dec. 20, 1909– |

## LIBRARIANS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Samuel H. Fulton | Jan. 1, 1858–Jan. 1, 1860 |
| William J. Jenks | Dec. 16, 1859–Dec. 6, 1866 |
| Samuel L. Taylor | Dec. 6, 1866–Dec. 5, 1867 |
| William T. Taylor, M.D. | Dec. 5, 1867–Dec. 4, 1873 |
| George D. McCreary | Dec. 4, 1873–Jan. 6, 1876 |
| Francis Jordan, Jr. | Jan. 6, 1876–Dec. 2, 1880 |
| Philip Howard Law | Dec. 2, 1880–Dec. 7, 1882 |
| Thomas Hockley | Dec. 7, 1882–Dec. 2, 1886 |
| Philip Howard Law | Dec. 2, 1886–May 22, 1888 |
| Inman Horner | Dec. 6, 1888–Dec. 7, 1893 |
| Charles D. Clark | Dec. 7, 1893–Dec. 1, 1904 |
| John F. Lewis | Dec. 1, 1904–Dec. 20, 1909 |
| W. W. Longstreth | Dec. 20, 1909–Dec. 16, 1912 |
| C. Howard Colket | Dec. 16, 1912– |

# ABSTRACT OF MINUTES OF THE SOCIETY

From December 28, 1857, to April 6, 1865, Inclusive.

[Note.—As the Proceedings were not printed until May 4, 1865, the following abstract has not previously been published.]

On December 28, 1857, "in pursuance of a notice issued by Mr. A. B. Taylor, at the desire of Mr. Arthur G. Coffin the following gentlemen assembled at the house of Mr. Coffin, 1015 Clinton Street: Mr. Arthur G. Coffin, Mr. Joseph J. Mickley, Mr. John Bohlen, Mr. Samuel H. Fulton, Mr. J. Ledyard Hodge, Dr. Mark W. Collet and Alfred B. Taylor." Mr. Coffin stated that the object of the meeting was to consider the propriety of forming a Numismatic Society. A rough draft of a Constitution and By-Laws was read and referred to a committee, which was to report nominations for officers.

1858.

Jan. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor, corner Ninth and Walnut Streets. A Constitution and By-Laws were adopted and officers were elected.

Jan. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Dr. M. W. Collet, 329 South Broad Street. Committees were appointed to procure a charter for the Society, a seal, a certificate of membership and a book label. The first donations received were three books and a silver dollar of 1836.

Feb. 4. Meeting held at the residence of S. H. Fulton, 615 South Ninth Street. A seal and book label were adopted.

Feb. 11. An adjourned meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Joseph J. Mickley. A letter from Mr. Dubois (of the Mint) was read, suggesting that the objects of the Society should be more extended and that it should be an antiquarian as well as a numismatic society.

1858.

Mar. 4. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor, corner Ninth and Walnut Streets. It was reported that the bill incorporating the Society had been signed by the Governor. Mr. Taylor read a paper on "Coinage for America," part one.

Apr. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. S. H. Fulton, 615 South Ninth Street. There was entered on the minutes a Memorial to Congress, endorsing the establishment in the United States Mint of a Medal Department as provided in a bill then pending before Congress.

May 6. Meeting held at the residence of Dr. M. W. Collet, 329 South Broad Street. Donations of sixty-six coins and medals and four books were acknowledged.

June 3. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. Joseph J. Mickley. The Secretary proposed that this Society adopt a new scale for the measurement of coins and medals in place of that of Mionnet which is the one in use throughout Europe, suggesting that the inch divided into eighths (from one up to any number required) would probably be the most convenient and desirable scale that could be adopted. Referred to a committee. Mr. Taylor read parts one and two of his paper entitled "Coinage for America."

July 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A valuable addition to the Cabinet was made by Mr. W. S. Lincoln of London, in the form of silver and copper coins comprising almost a complete series from William the Conqueror to Victoria.

Aug. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William L. Hildeburn, 1713 Spruce Street. A committee was appointed to confer with President Mickley as to the advisability of publishing his "Table of the Years in which Coins were issued by the United States Government," at the expense and under the auspices of the Society.

1858.

Sept. 2. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The scale for measuring coins and medals was adopted as suggested by the committee. The committee appointed to confer with Mr. Mickley reported that his book was so far advanced that he deemed it best to bring it out as he originally intended.

Oct. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Dr. M. W. Collet. The Secretary was requested to correspond with the editor of the Historical Magazine in reference to the publication of Mr. Taylor's paper "Coins for America."

Nov. 4. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William J. Jenks. Mr. Taylor read part three of his paper on "Coins for America."

Dec. 2. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. Joseph J. Mickley. A set of proof pieces for the year 1858 was added to the Cabinet. The Librarian reported thirteen volumes of books labeled and numbered. The Curator reported the accessions as being 299 coins and pieces, all of which had been donated to the Society. The report of the Secretary showed 18 Resident and 7 Corresponding Members.

1859.

Jan. 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The Secretary was instructed to advertise the names of the officers in the *North American.*

Feb. 3. Meeting held at the residence of Dr. M. W. Collet. An amendment to the By-Laws was passed at this meeting viz.: "The Director of the United States Mint shall *ex-officio* be an Honorary Member of this Society."

Mar. 3. Members met at the residence of Mr. William J. Jenks, 1322 Vine Street. As there was no quorum no meeting was held.

1859.

Apr. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. Accessions to the Library and Cabinet were reported.

May 5. Meeting held at the residence of President Mickley. Two Resident and one Corresponding member were elected.

June 2. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. R. W. Davids. A donation of six copper coins was made to the Society.

July 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A set of the pattern cents of 1858 was presented to the Society by the Director of the Mint.

Aug. 4. Members met at the residence of Mr. William J. Jenks. As there was no quorum no meeting was held.

Sept. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Dr. M. W. Collet. Donations to the Library and Cabinet were announced.

Oct. 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. Accessions to the Library and Cabinet were announced.

Nov. 3. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. An amendment to the By-Laws was adopted by the terms of which a member elected during the year should pay at the rate of twenty-five cents for each month until the expiration of the fiscal year.

Dec. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William J. Jenks. Annual election of officers to serve for the ensuing year was held.

1860.

Jan. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. An amendment to the By-Laws was adopted changing the life membership fee from $35 to $25.

1860.

Feb. 2. Meeting held at the residence of President Mickley. Donations to Library and Cabinet were announced.

Mar. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. Richard W. Davids. The Secretary suggested that at each meeting a subject for discussion at the next meeting should be proposed and that the members be requested to gather what information they could in reference to the matter.

Apr. 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. In accordance with the announcement made at the last meeting the Bermuda or Sommer Island Coin was made the special object of discussion and a paper on the subject was read by Mr. Taylor. It is believed there are but two specimens known, one in the possession of Mr. Mickley, and the other in the Bermuda Museum.

May 3. Meeting held at the residence of Dr. M. W. Collet. A paper was read by Mr. Taylor on the Massachusetts Coinage.

June 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The discussion on the Massachusetts Coinage begun at the last meeting was continued, a number of specimens being shown by President Mickley.

July 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. Donations to the Library and Cabinet were made.

Aug. 2. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. There was a general discussion on the Massachusetts Coinage.

Sept. 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. Joseph J. Mickley. The discussion on the Massachusetts Coinage was continued.

1860.

Oct. 4. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A proof set of silver United States coins of the 1859 issue was purchased by subscription. A number of valuable coins were shown, among them a gold Broad piece or Unit of James I, two rare half pennies of Queen Anne and a scarce Samson Medal of Washington.

Nov. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Dr. M. W. Collet in Germantown. A fine specimen of the American cent of 1793 known as the "Liberty Cap" cent was shown; also a large collection of gun money of James II, including the farthing of May 16, 1690.

Dec. 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. Mr. Mickley read an interesting communication in reference to Lead and Tin Coins issued in Philadelphia in 1696, 1697 and 1698.

1861.

Jan. 3. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The annual reports of the Treasurer and Librarian were presented. Mr. Mickley donated to the Cabinet bronze coinage of England for 1860, consisting of penny, half penny and farthing.

Feb. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. Samuel H. Fulton. The Treasurer was directed to buy a certificate of City six per cent loan for $300.

Mar. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. Some interesting coins were shown, and accessions to the Library announced.

Apr. 4. Meeting held at the the residence of Mr. Richard W. Davids. A ballot box was presented to the Society by the President, Joseph J. Mickley. It was made by himself from cherry wood obtained from a tree raised from the stone planted by him in 1841, and cut down in 1857. The Curator in his annual report stated that during the year 1860, 94 pieces had been added to the Cabinet, making a total of 537.

1861.

May 3. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. Several interesting coins were shown and a medal presented by Bailey & Co., of this city, to the Japanese Embassy.

June 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A number of valuable coins were shown and discussed.

July 4. No meeting was held.

Aug. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. Joseph J. Mickley. The President presented an interesting communication in reference to the Chalmers coinage.

Sept. 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A mallet made of cherry wood—the handle of peach wood—made by Mr. Mickley from wood grown by himself, was presented to the Society by him.

Oct. 3. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. George F. Zehnder. A resolution denouncing the altering of coins to simulate rare ones, was passed and was ordered to be printed in *The Inquirer*.

Nov. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. The resignation of the Curator was accepted.

Dec. 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The President informed the Society that the Director of the Mint had expressed his gratification on being elected an Honorary Member and had presented an Allegiance Medal in bronze to the Cabinet.

Dec. 16. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The annual election of officers was held.

1862.

Jan. 2. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. S. H. Fulton. A number of donations to the Library were reported.

1862.

Feb. 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. The report of the Librarian for the year 1861 showed on hand, 13 books and 24 pamphlets, etc.

Mar. 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William J. Jenks. Proof sets of the United States coins of 1861 and 1862 were ordered purchased at a cost of $6. Donations of books and coins were acknowledged.

Apr. 3. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. R. W. Davids. Proofs in copper of a Sierra Leone penny and cent were presented by Mr. E. Cauffman.

May 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A communication from Mr. W. L. Hildeburn in reference to a copper coin inscribed "Immune Columbia" was read. Among the gifts was a coin cabinet made and presented by Mr. Davids.

June 5. Meeting was held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. A number of valuable and interesting coins were shown. Among them was an American half dollar of 1795 stamped with the head of George III.

July 3. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A copper medal of Dr. Benjamin Rush and a white metal semi-centennial medal, July 4, 1826, were shown by Mr. Taylor.

Aug. 7. No meeting.

Sept. 4. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. Joseph J. Mickley. Mr. Davids presented his resignation as Curator on account of his departure for the war.

Oct. 2. Meeting called at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor, but owing to lack of a quorum none was held.

Nov. 13. Meeting called at the residence of Mr. Joseph J. Mickley, but owing to lack of a quorum none was held.

1862.

Dec. 4. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William J. Jenks. The annual election of officers was held, all the present officers being re-elected. Mr. Vaux was elected Curator.

1863.

Jan. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The reports of the Librarian and Treasurer were presented. The latter was directed to purchase a certificate of $100 in Philadelphia City 6 per cent loan.

Feb. 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. Gifts to the Library were acknowledged, and a Roman coin exhibited.

Mar. 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. The Secretary exhibited a lot of rare and valuable coins which had been loaned to him for the purpose by Mr. Edward Cogan of this city.

Apr. 2. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. Donations of books and coins were acknowledged, and some interesting coins exhibited.

May 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. E. Cauffman, who exhibited to the members present his valuable collection of coins.

June 4. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The death was announced of one of the founders, Dr. M. W. Collet, who was killed at the battle of Chancellorsville on May 3, while leading his regiment into action.

July 2. No meeting.

Aug. 6. No meeting.

Sept. 3. Notices were sent of a meeting to be held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor, but there was no quorum.

1863.

Oct. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. Mr. Mickley read a communication relative to the currency of Pennsylvania. The death of Mr. Davids was reported. He was killed at the battle of Gettysburg, July 2.

Nov. 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. The Curator was directed to procure the proof set of silver coins of the United States for 1863. Among the pieces exhibited was one of silver known as a Philadelphia token.

Dec. 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. An election of officers to serve for the ensuing year was held.

1864.

Jan. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A committee was appointed to revise the Constitution and By-Laws. A number of medals were exhibited by Mr. Mickley, among them one in commemoration of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Feb. 4. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William S. Vaux. A donation of twelve copper coins was made by Mr. Taylor.

Mar. 4. No notices of meeting were sent out and no meeting of the Society was held this month.

Apr. 7. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William P. Chandler. The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts of the Treasurer were correct. A slight change in the By-Laws in reference to the election of members was adopted.

May 5. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William J. Jenks. Mr. Jenks exhibited a valuable collection of Roman and Grecian coins. He also showed some interesting papers. Among them was a Report with Resolu-

tions issued by the United States Congress, August 8, 1776, relative to the standard and division of coinage of gold and silver. Another paper was an ordinance for the establishment of the Mint of the United States of America, and for regulating the value and alloy of coin, signed by Charles Thomson, Secretary, and dated October 16, 1786.

1864.

June 2. Meeting called at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor, but there was no quorum.

July 7. No notice of meeting sent out, and consequently no meeting was held.

Aug. 4. No notice of meeting sent out, and consequently no meeting was held.

Sept. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A resolution was adopted that each member of the Society be requested to furnish his photograph to the Society. There was received from Hon. James Pollock, Director of the Mint, three varieties of postal currency, two two-cent pieces and a one-cent piece of 1863 in bronze.

Oct. 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William P. Chandler. The Treasurer reported a balance of about $125 and on motion was directed to buy $100 bond of City of Philadelphia 6 per cent.

Nov. 3. Meeting called at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor, but there was no quorum.

Dec. 1. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. Joseph J. Mickley. The Treasurer presented his annual report which was referred to an auditing committee. The annual election for officers was held, the same officers being re-elected.

1865.

Jan. 5. Meeting called at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor, but there being no quorum, no meeting was held.

Feb. 2. Meeting called at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor, but there being no quorum, no meeting was held.

Mar. 2. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. A. B. Taylor. A committee consisting of Messrs. Phillips and Fulton was appointed to have the Charter of the Society amended by the Legislature.

Apr. 6. Meeting held at the residence of Mr. William P. Chandler. It was reported that the Legislature had passed on March 23d the bill changing the name of the Society to "The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia." On motion the Society accepted the provisions of the Act. A number of accessions to the Cabinet were announced.

# SYNOPSIS OF MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1865. | | |
| May 4. | Residence of A. B. Taylor. | |
| June 1. | do. | Early Maryland Curreney, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| July 6. | do. | |
| Oct. 5. | do. | Extracts from "Continental and Colonial Paper Money," by Henry Phillips, Jr. Golden Relics from Chiriqui, by A. B. Taylor. |
| Nov. 2. | Residenee of Joseph J. Mickley. | |
| Dee. 7 | Residenee of William P. Chandler. | |
| 1866. | | |
| Jan. 4. | Residence of A. B. Taylor. | |
| Feb. 1. | Residenee of William P. Chandler. | |
| Mar. 1. | Residence of A. B. Taylor. | |
| Mar. 17. | Offices of H. Phillips, Jr., 131 S. Fifth St. | |
| Apr. 5. | Residence of William J. Jenks, 1322 Vine St. | Some Considerations on the best Means of Promoting the Efficiency and Extending the Usefulness of the Soeiety, by H. Phillips, Jr. Remarks on Tabasco, Mexico, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| May 3. | Hall of the Society, 524 Walnut St. | Aceount and extracts from a Latin book published in Paris in 1555, read by H. Phillips, Jr. |
| June 7. | do. | |
| July 5. | do. | The Diary of John Pemberton, for the years 1777 and 1778, read by Eli K. Priee. |
| Aug. 2. | No quorum. | |
| Sept. 6. | Hall of the Society, 524 Walnut St. | |
| Oet. 4. | do. | The Pleasures of Numismatie Seience, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Nov. 1. | do. | A Historical Sketch of the National Medals issued pursuant to Resolution of Congress, 1776–1815, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Nov. 15. | do. | |
| Dee. 6. | do. | |
| 1867. | | |
| Jan. 3. | Hall of the Soeiety, 524 Walnut St. | |
| Feb. 7. | do. | |
| Mar. 6. | do. | Aneient Mounds of the West and their Builders, by Charles Henry Hart. |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1867. | | |
| Apr. 4. | Hall of the Society, 524 Walnut St. | |
| May 2. | do. | Hoard of Roman Coins lately exhumed at Paris, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| June 6. | do. | American Collections of Coins, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Oct. 2. | do. | Original Plan under which Philadelphia was laid out, by Eli K. Price. |
| Nov. 7. | do. | Names of Coins, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Dec. 5. | do. | Lately discovered Key to the Inscriptions at Palenque and elsewhere in Central America, and the Maya Alphabet, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| 1868. | | |
| Jan. 2. | do. | Wampum, by Dr. Ashbel Woodward. |
| Feb. 6. | do. | Island of Cozumel, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Mar. 5. | do. | Memoir of Joseph R. Ingersoll, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Apr. 2. | do. | Recent Progress in American Linguistics, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| May 7. | do. | Account of Baron Waldeck, by Eli K. Price. Cowries as a Currency, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Oct. 2. | do. | Account of the Bush-hill Mansion, by John Macalister, Jr. |
| Nov. 5. | do. | Account of the Recent Discoveries of Stone Walls in Colorado, and Mounds in Dacotah, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Dec. 3. | College Hall. | Memoir of Jared Sparks, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| 1869. | | |
| Jan. 7. | No quorum. | |
| Feb. 4. | Hall of the Society, 524 Walnut St. | |
| Mar. 4. | do. | Memoir of George W. Fahnestock, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Apr. 1. | do. | Spanish Conquest of Mexico, by W. W. H. Davis. |
| May 6. | do. | |
| June 3. | do. | Coins and Currency of China, by Henry Phillips, Jr. Indian Name of the Village of Iuka, by Dr. W. T. Taylor. |
| Oct. 7. | do. | |
| Nov. 4. | do. | |
| Nov. 17. | do. | International Coinage, by Hon. James Ross Snowden. |
| Dec. 2. | do. | |
| 1870. | | |
| Jan. 6. | do. | |
| Feb. 3. | do. | Early Colonial History of Virginia, by Dr. Frederick Horner, Jr. |
| Mar. 3. | do. | Tribute to the Memory of the late William Willis, of Portland, by Charles Henry Hart. |

There are no minutes for April or May, nor for the special meeting held March 17.

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1870. | | |
| June 2. | Hall of the Society, 524 Walnut St. | |
| July 7. | do. | Discourse on the Life and Services of Gulian C. Verplanck, of New York, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Nov. 3. | do. | Necrological Notice of Richard Stockton Fields, by Charles Henry Hart. Recent Lacustrine Discoveries in Switzerland, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Dec. 1. | do. | |
| 1871. | | |
| Jan. 3. | do. | |
| Feb. 2. | do. | |
| Mar. 2. | do. | |
| Apr. 6. | do. | |
| May 4. | do. | Memoir of the late George Ticknor, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| June 6. | do. | |
| Oct. 5. | do. | |
| Nov. 2. | do. | |
| Dec. 7. | do. | |
| 1872. | | |
| Jan. 4. | do. | |
| Feb. 1. | do. | |
| Mar. 7. | do. | |
| Apr. 4. | do. | |
| May 2. | do. | |
| June 6. | do. | |
| Oct. 3. | do. | |
| Nov. 7. | do. | |
| Dec. 5. | do. | |
| 1873. | | |
| Feb. 6. | do. | Di Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities, by Charles Piers. |
| Feb. 28. | do. | |
| Mar. 6. | do. | |
| Apr. 10. | do. | |
| May 1. | do. | Magic of the Middle Ages as Illustrated by the Works of Albertus Magnus, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| June 5. | do. | |
| Oct. 2. | do. | |
| Nov. 6. | do. | |
| Dec. 4. | do. | Danish Architecture of the Middle Ages, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| 1874. | | |
| Jan. 1. | do. | Results of some Recent Explorations in Northern Italy, by Eli K. Price. |
| Feb. 5. | do. | Late Discoveries of Human Remains at Pompeii, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Mar. 5. | do. | Alphabetically inscribed stone lately found in Ohio, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Mar. 26. | At the Office of the President. | |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
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| 1874. | | |
| Apr. 2. | Hall of the Society, 524 Walnut St. | |
| May 2. | do. | Paternity of Andrew Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, as developed by the Comparison of Handwritings, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| June 4. | do. | |
| Oct. 1. | do. | Origin and History of the Coinage of Money, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Nov. 5. | Hall of the Society, S. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | Manners and Migrations of the most Ancient Races of America, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Dec. 3. | do. | Wampum and its uses, by Horatio Hale. |
| 1875. | | |
| Jan. 7. | do. | Psychology of the American Indian, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 4. | do. | Americana in the Library of John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Mar. 4. | do. | Recent Discovery of supposed War Chariots near Rome, by W. Grier Hibler. |
| Apr. 1. | do. | |
| May 6. | do. | |
| June 3. | do. | |
| Oct. 7. | do. | |
| Nov. 5. | do. | |
| Dec. 2. | do. | |
| 1876. | | |
| Jan. 2. | do. | Waterloo Medal of Pistrucci, by Isaac Myer. First American Expedition in search of the North Pole, being the Voyage of the Argo from Philadelphia, in 1753–54, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Feb. 3. | do. | |
| Mar. 2. | do. | Memoir on the Moabite Stone, by William Trautwine. |
| Apr. 6. | do. | |
| Nov. 2. | do. | |
| Dec. 7. | do. | A Pre-historic Pompeii, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| 1877. | | |
| Jan. 4. | do. | Progress of Archæological Research during the year 1876, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 1. | do. | Study of Beads in their Anthropological Relations, by Prof. ——— Haldeman. Method practiced by the Aztecs in making Obsidian Knives, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Mar. 1. | do. | Life and Times of Col. John Nixon, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Apr. 5. | do. | Glyptic Art, by Isaac Myer. |
| May 3. | do. | Same concluded. |
| June 7. | do. | |
| Oct. 4. | do. | |
| Oct. 18. | do. | |
| Nov. 1. | do. | |
| Dec. 6. | do. | |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1878. | | |
| Jan. 3. | Hall of the Society, S. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | Annual Address tracing growth and progress of the Society, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 7. | do. | |
| Mar. 7. | do. | First Coal Discoveries in Pennsylvania, by Francis Jordan, Jr. |
| Apr. 4. | do. | The supposed Traces of a pre-Indian Race in Eastern North America, by Dr. C. C. Abbott. |
| May 2. | do. | Origin of Feudalism, by Philip H. Law. |
| June 6. | do. | Ancient Pueblo Civilization, by William Trautwine. |
| Oct. 3. | do. | |
| Nov. 7. | do. | Asiatic Origin of the Names of the Days of the Week, by Isaac Myer. |
| Dec. 5. | do. | |
| 1879. | | |
| Jan. 2. | do. | Symbolism of Color Among the North American Indians, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 6. | do. | |
| Mar. 6. | do. | History of Coinage, and account of the Coins in the Collection at Memorial Hall, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Mar. 20. | do. | Presentation of a silver medal to Hon. Eli K. Price. |
| Apr. 3. | do. | Falsifications of Ancient Coins, by S. K. Harzfeld. |
| May 1. | do. | Causes which led to the English Revolution of 1640, by Philip Howard Law. |
| Oct. 2. | do. | Worship of the Sun as represented upon a Coin of Constantine the Great, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Nov. 6. | do. | The Bones of Columbus, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Dec. 4. | do. | |
| 1880. | | |
| Jan. 8. | do. | Life and Teachings of George Keith, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 5. | do. | The Remains of an Aboriginal Encampment at Rehoboth, Delaware, by Francis Jordan, Jr. Notes upon a Denarius of Augustus Caesar, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Mar. 4. | do. | Servitude in England, by Philip Howard Law. |
| Apr. 1. | do. | Some Modern Monetary Questions viewed by the light of Antiquity, by Robert Noxan Toppan. Old Titles to the City of Philadelphia, by Isaac Myer. |
| May. 6. | do. | Dissertation upon the bearing of the Act of Parliament of 1751 for the Correction of the Calendar upon the various Dates connected with William Penn's Arrival in America, by Lewis A. Scott. Slavery in England under the Common and Statute Law, by Isaac Myer. |
| Oct. 7. | do. | |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1880. | | |
| Nov. 4. | Hall of the Society. S. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | Act and Bull, or Fixed Anniversaries, by Lewis A. Scott. |
| Dec. 2. | do. | |
| 1881. | | |
| Jan. 5. | do. | Sexual Element in the American Aboriginal Religions, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 2. | do. | Ancient Coinage, by Frederick H. Seymour. The Soldiers' Medals issued by the State of West Virginia as Tokens of Respect to those of her Citizens who served in the Armies of the United States from 1861 to 1865, by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. Old and New Style Fixed Anniversaries and Dates, etc., by John R. Baker. |
| Mar. 3. | do. | Philadelphia and its Society in 1794, by Philip Howard Law. Biographical Notice of the late Colonel Robert S. Swords, of Newark, N. J., by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Apr. 7. | do. | Some Old Maps of Philadelphia and their Lessons, by William Trautwine. Santo Volto, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| May 5. | do. | Memoirs of the late William Beach Lawrence by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Oct. 6. | do. | How Money is made, by A. E. Outerbridge, Jr. |
| Nov. 3. | do. | Early European Tobacco Pipes found in the United States, by Edwin A. Barber. |
| Dec. 1. | do. | |
| 1882. | | |
| Jan. 5. | do. | The Books of Chilan Balam, the Sacred and Historic Records of the Mayas of Yucatan, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 2. | do. | Antique Coin Symbols, by Rev. Dr. John P. Lundy. |
| Mar. 2. | do. | Lying of the Stars, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Apr. 6. | do. | Remarks upon a Coin of Sicyon, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| May 4. | do. | Are Man and Ape Akin? by J. Davis Duffield. Memoir of Lewis H. Morgan, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Oct. 5. | do. | |
| Nov. 2. | do. | Theoretical Kabbalah of the Hebrews, by Isaac Myer. |
| Dec. 7. | do. | Archæology of the year 1882, by Edwin AtLee Barber. |
| 1883. | | |
| Jan. 4. | do. | Journey of the Soul, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. Zea Maize, as it Relates to the Incipient Civilization of Red Men all the World over, by Rev. John P. Lundy. |
| Feb. 1. | do. | |
| Mar. 1. | do. | Migrations of the American Indians as evidenced by Language, by Horatio Hale. Recent European Contributions to the Study of American Archæology, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1883. | | |
| Apr. 5. | Hall of the Society, S. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | Dighton Rock Inscription, by Rev. John P. Lundy. |
| May 3. | do. | |
| Oct. 4. | do. | History and Customs of the Peruvians, by Dr. Macedo, of Lima, Peru. |
| Nov. 1. | do. | Memoir of the late Hon. James Madison Porter, of Easton, Pa., by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Dec. 6. | do. | |
| 1884. | | |
| Jan. 4. | do. | The Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, its Origin and Work, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. Obituary Notice of Chief Justice Sharswood, by Charles Henry Hart. |
| Feb. 7. | do. | |
| Mar. 6. | do. | Secret Societies, by Philip H. Law. Explorations at Long Neck Branch and Lewes, Delaware, by Francis Jordan, Jr. |
| Apr. 3. | do. | Antinous, by Henry Phillips, Jr. Runic Inscription at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| May 1. | do. | Discoveries of Remains of Palæolithic Man in the Trenton Gravels, by Dr. C. C. Abbott. |
| Oct. 2. | do. | |
| Nov. 6. | do. | |
| Nov. 20. | do. | |
| Dec. 4. | do. | |
| 1885. | | |
| Jan. 8. | do. | Inaugural Address by President Brinton. |
| Feb. 7. | do. | "Standish Barry" token, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Mar. 5. | do. | Unity of Early Myths, by Rev. Joseph F. Garrison. |
| Apr. 2. | do. | The Obscurity of Early English History, especially with reference to the Works of Gildas, by Philip H. Law. |
| May 7. | do. | |
| Oct. 1. | do. | Some of the Excretive Habits and Customs of Aboriginal Tribes in the United States, by Edwin A. Barber. |
| Nov. 5. | do. | Olympia, by Prof. William T. Appleton, of Swarthmore, Penna. |
| Dec. 3. | do. | Minute Lore—a Pack of Cards, by John R. Baker. |
| 1886. | | |
| Jan. 6. | do. | Earliest Peopling of America, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. Yi King, or the Book of Changes of the Chinese, by Rev. Joseph F. Garrison. |
| Feb. 4. | do. | Significance and Association of the Names in the Philadelphia Directory for 1885, by Henry Phillips, Jr. |
| Mar. 4. | do. | The Writings of Ibn Gabirol compared with the Kabbalah and the Sepher haz-Zohar, by Isaac Myer. |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1886. | | |
| Apr. 1. | Hall of the Society, S. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | Religious Ceremonials of the Chinese in Philadelphia and New York, by Stewart Culin. |
| May 7. | do. | |
| Oct. 6. | do. | Some Strange Rites seemingly the outcome of Sun and Phallic Worship among the Aborigines of Vancouver's Island, British Columbia, by James Deans. On the Origin of Paper Money, by W. E. A. Axon. |
| Nov. 4. | do. | Origin and Astrological Significance of the Chinese Game of Dominos, by Stewart Culin. |
| Dec. 2. | do. | A Description of a Pre-historic Cave Ruin in Southern Utah, by Edwin A. Barber. The Chinese Kabbalah, or the Book called the Yih-King, by Isaac Myer. |
| Dec. 16. | do. | |
| 1887. | | |
| Jan. 7. | do. | American Aboriginal Poetry, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 4. | do. | Chinese Gambling Games in America, by Stewart Culin. |
| Feb. 17. | do. | |
| Mar. 3. | do. | What remains of the Washington Library, January 1, 1887, by Dr. Frederick Horner, of Salem, Va. Life and Services to Science of the late Col. Charles C. Whittlesey, by Isaac Myer. |
| Apr. 6. | City Institute, N. E. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | Arts and Customs of Ancient Japan, by Tatin Baba. |
| Apr. 21. | Hall of the Society, S. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | |
| May 4. | do. | Mikrokosm and the Makrokosm, by Isaac Myer. |
| Sept. 20. | do. | |
| Sept. 27. | do. | |
| Oct. 5. | do. | Notes on Early Medals, Rings, etc., found in Onondaga and Cayuga Counties, N. Y., by Rev. Dr. W. M. Beauchamp. |
| Oct. 19. | do. | |
| Nov. 3. | do. | Numismatic Eschatology, by Henry Phillips, Jr. The I Hing or Patriotic Rising, a Secret Society Among the Chinese in America, by Stewart Culin. |
| Nov. 26. | do. | |
| Dec. 1. | do. | Some Thoughts on the Structure and Character of the Collection of Finnish Folk Songs—the Kalwala—and some specimens of their Contents, by Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Garrison. |
| Dec. 15. | do. | |
| 1888. | | |
| Jan. 5. | do. | Early Printing, by Robert Noxon Toppan. |
| Feb. 3. | do. | A Review of Tynne Morrison's Book of Travels, London, 1617, by Philip H. Law. |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1888. | | |
| Feb. 16. | Hall of the Society, S. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | |
| Mar. 1. | do. | Aborignal Ceramic Art of the New England and Middle Atlantic States of North America, by Francis Jordan, Jr. |
| Apr. 5. | Hall of the Society, N. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | |
| Apr. 19. | do. | |
| May 3. | do. | Judas and his Shekels, by Prof. James D. Butler. |
| Oct. 4. | do. | The Stone Age in Spain, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Nov. 1. | do. | The Oriental Institute, Woking, England, by Stewart Culin. |
| Dec. 6. | do. | |
| 1889. | | |
| Jan. 3. | do. | Proto-Historic Glimpses of Europe, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 7. | do. | The Prophet Jonah, by Isaac Myer. |
| Mar. 7. | do. | |
| Apr. 4. | do. | |
| May 2. | do. | An Old Japanese Standard Foot Measure, by Benjamin Smith Lyman. |
| Oct. 3. | do. | Aboriginal Wood Carving, by Francis Jordan, Jr. |
| Nov. 7. | do. | The Stone of the Giants, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Dec. 5. | do. | |
| 1890. | | |
| Jan. 2. | do. | Enigmas in American Archæology, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 6. | do. | |
| Mar. 6. | do. | Cosmic Ether, by Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Garrison. |
| Apr. 3. | do. | Japanese Swords, by Benjamin Smith Lyman. |
| May 1. | do. | |
| May 12. | do. | |
| May 17. | Office of Mr. Thomas Hockley, 205 S. Sixth St. | |
| June 9. | do. | |
| June 26. | do. | |
| Oct. 2. | Hall of the Society, N. W. cor. 18th and Chestnut Sts. | |
| Nov. 6. | Residence of Dr. D. G. Brinton, 2041 Chestnut St. | |
| Dec. 4. | do. | |
| 1891. | | |
| Jan. 8. | Hall of the Society, S. E. cor. 21st and Pine Sts. | |
| Feb. 5. | do. | East Indian Fortune-telling with Dice, by Stewart Culin. |
| Mar. 5. | do. | |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1891. | | |
| Apr. 2. | Hall of the Society, S. E. cor. 21st and Pine Sts. | Egyptian Collection in the Museum of Archæology of the University of Pennsylvania, by Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson. |
| May 7. | do. | Syrian Games with Knuckle Bones, by Stewart Culin. |
| Oct. 1. | do. | |
| Nov. 5. | do. | Tip Cats, by Stewart Culin. |
| Dec. 3. | do. | |
| 1892. | | |
| Jan. 7. | do. | The Popular Literature of the Chinese in the United States, by Stewart Culin. |
| Feb. 4. | do. | The Aborigines of America and their Relations to the Aborigines of Japan, by Capt. R. S. Collum, U.S.M.C. |
| Mar. 3. | do. | Medieval and Aboriginal Dramas, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. Old Chinese Graves in Philadelphia, by Stewart Culin. |
| Apr. 7. | do. | Annual Fairs of the Natives of Alaska, by Inman Horner (notes made by Lieut. Miles C. Gorgas, U.S.N.). |
| May 5. | do. | The Romantic Literature of the Chinese in the United States, by Stewart Culin. |
| July 7. | do. | |
| Oct. 6. | do. | |
| Nov. 3. | do. | |
| Dec. 1. | do. | Investigations near Betterton, Md., by Francis Jordan, Jr. |
| 1893. | | |
| Jan. 5. | do. | |
| Feb. 2. | do. | |
| Mar. 2. | do. | Aubin Collection of Mexicana, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Mar. 24. | do. | |
| Apr. 6. | do. | Phallic Emblems, by Prof. Maxwell Sommerville. A Day at Perugia, by Stewart Culin. |
| May 4. | do. | |
| Oct. 5. | do. | |
| Nov. 2. | do. | |
| Dec. 7. | do. | |
| 1894. | | |
| Jan. 4. | do. | The Pre-historic Remains Found in the Nickajack and Lookout Mountain Caves, by Henry C. Mercer. |
| Feb. 1. | do. | |
| Mar. 1. | do. | The Cross Bow, by Cornelius Stevenson. |
| Apr. 5. | School of Industrial Art, N. W. cor. Broad and Pine Sts. | The Arkansas Traveller, A Pennsylvania German Fairy Tale, The Blind Man and the Giant, Pennsylvania German Pow-wow Formulas, Indians Mining Lead, The Sunbonnet, The Grasshopper War, by Henry C. Mercer. |
| May 3. | do. | |
| Oct. 4. | do. | |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1894. | | |
| Nov. 4. | School of Industrial Art, N. W. cor. Broad and Pine Sts. | The Origin of the Japanese Race, by Julius K. Matsumoto. The Boro Budur Temple of Java, by Clarence B. Moore (read by Inman Horner). |
| Dec. 6. | do. | |
| 1895. | | |
| Jan. 3. | do. | The Hummock at Tuckerton, N. J., by Francis Jordan, Jr. |
| Feb. 7. | do. | |
| Mar. 7. | Penn Club. | |
| Apr. 4. | School of Industrial Art. | |
| May 2. | do. | |
| Oct. 3. | do. | |
| Nov. 7. | do. | |
| Dec. 5. | do. | |
| 1896. | | |
| Jan. 2. | do. | Results of Recent Digging, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Feb. 6. | do. | Pre-historic Metal Work, by Dr. D. G. Brinton. |
| Mar. 5. | do. | |
| Apr. 2. | do. | |
| May 7. | do. | |
| Oct. 1. | do. | |
| Nov. 5. | do. | A Proposed Medal for the Philadelphia Post Office, by Richard S. Edwards. |
| Dec. 3. | do. | |
| 1897. | | |
| Jan. 7. | do. | |
| Feb. 4. | do. | |
| Mar. 4. | do. | |
| Apr. 1. | do. | |
| May 6. | do. | |
| Oct. 7. | do. | |
| Nov. 4. | do. | |
| Dec. 2. | do. | |
| 1898. | | |
| Jan. 6. | do. | |
| Feb. 3. | do. | |
| Feb. 23. | Franklin Institute. | Japanese Swords, by Edward Gilbertson. |
| Mar. 3. | School of Industrial Art. | |
| Apr. 7. | do. | |
| May 5. | do. | |
| Oct. 6. | do. | |
| Nov. 3. | do. | |
| Dec. 1. | do. | Some Evidences of Superstition from the Desert of Sahara by Prof. Maxwell Sommerville. |
| 1899. | | |
| Jan. 5. | do. | |
| Feb. 2. | do. | |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1899. | | |
| Mar. 2. | School of Industrial Art. | |
| Apr. 6. | do. | |
| May 4. | do. | |
| Oct. 5. | do. | |
| Nov. 3. | do. | Life and Services of Carl Edelheim and Dr. D. G. Brinton, by Inman Horner. |
| Dec. 7. | do. | |
| 1900. | | |
| Jan. 4. | do. | Early Ordnance, by Cornelius Stevenson. |
| Feb. 1. | do. | The Great Seal of England, by Charles E. Dana. |
| Mar. 1. | do. | The Coinage of the Ancient Greeks, by Dr. William N. Bates. |
| Apr. 5. | do. | The Origin of Heraldry, by Charles E. Dana. |
| May 3. | do. | A Hebrew Omer of the year 1800, by Charles J. Cohen. |
| Oct. 4. | do. | |
| Nov. 1. | do. | Falconry, by Charles E. Dana. Visit to the Makah Indians, by Stewart Culin. |
| Dec. 6. | do. | |
| 1901. | | |
| Jan. 3. | do. | |
| Feb. 7. | Philobiblon Club. | |
| Mar. 7. | School of Industrial Art. | Ogalala Games, by Louis L. Meeker (read by Mr. Culin). |
| Apr. 3. | University Club. | The Long Bow, by Charles E. Dana. |
| May 2. | do. | The Coinage of the Ottoman Sultans, by Edward Gilbertson, of Ilfracombe, England (read by Mr. Lyman). Earliest Dates on Coins, by Richard W. Davids. |
| Oct. 3. | do. | |
| Nov. 7. | do. | |
| Dec. 5. | do. | Some Literary and Antiquarian Frauds, by Charles E. Dana. |
| 1902. | | |
| Jan. 2. | do. | |
| Feb. 6. | do. | John Fitch and Early Steam Navigation, by Charles E. Dana. |
| Mar. 6. | do. | |
| Apr. 3. | do. | The Ceramic Literature of the Pennsylvania Germans, by Edwin A. Barber. |
| Apr. 29. | School of Industrial Art. | The English Coronation, its Service and its History, by Charles E. Dana. |
| May 1. | University Club. | |
| Oct. 2. | do. | |
| Nov. 6. | do. | Hebrew Phylacteries and other Objects used in Jewish Worship at the Present Day (oral communication), by Charles J. Cohen. |
| Dec. 11. | School of Industrial Art. | A Trooper's Narrative of Service in the Anthracite Coal Strike, 1902, by Stewart Culin. |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1903. | | |
| Jan. 8. | School of Industrial Art. | Old Watches, by Richard W. Davids. |
| Feb. 5. | do. | Characteristics of Aboriginal Village Sites of the Middle Atlantic Coast, by Francis Jordan, Jr. |
| Mar. 5. | do. | The Tournament and the Joust, by Cornelius Stevenson. |
| Apr. 2. | do. | A Few Impressions of Segesta and Selinus, by Charles M. Burns. |
| May 7. | do. | |
| Oct. 1. | do. | |
| Nov. 5. | do. | |
| Dec. 3. | do. | |
| 1904. | | |
| Jan. 7. | do. | |
| Feb. 4. | do. | |
| Mar. 3. | do. | The Ruins of Copan, Honduras, by Dr. George B. Gordon. |
| Apr. 7. | do. | Expression of Value on Some Coins, by Richard W. Davids. |
| May 5. | do. | Hindoo Marriage Customs, by Benjamin Smith Lyman. |
| Oct. 6. | do. | |
| Nov. 3. | do. | |
| Dec. 1. | do. | |
| 1905. | | |
| Jan. 5. | Residence of Charles E. Dana, 2013 DeLancey St. | Swords and Swordmanship, by Charles E. Dana. |
| Feb. 2. | Res. of Cornelius Stevenson, 237 S. 21st St. | Early American Pottery (oral address), by Prof. F. W. Putnam, of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. |
| Mar. 2. | Res. of John T. Morris, 826 Pine St. | Recent Investigations in Central American Archæology, by Dr. George B. Gordon. |
| Apr. 6. | Res. of Howard W. Lewis, 1928 Spruce St. | Certain Incidents in the Evolution of the Modern Warship, by Charles H. Cramp. |
| May 4. | Res. of Charles J. Cohen, 334 S. 21st St. | Ancient Jewish Ceremonial, by Charles J. Cohen. |
| Nov. 2. | Res. of Carroll Smyth, 2110 Walnut St. | Illustrators of Dante, by Carroll Smyth. |
| Dec. 7. | Res. of John F. Lewis, 1914 Spruce St. | William Hogarth, by John F. Lewis. |
| 1906. | | |
| Jan. 4. | Res. of John Story Jenks, 1937 Arch St. | An Account of Some Coins in a Private Collection, by John Story Jenks. |
| Feb. 1. | Res. of Joseph Wright, 2023 Walnut St. | Administrative Archives of the Temple at Nippur during the Reign of the Cassites, by Dr. Albert T. Clay. |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1906. | | |
| Mar. 1. | Res. of C. Howard Colket, 2008 De-Lancey St. | Island of Uap, by Dr. William Henry Furness, 3d. |
| Apr. 5. | Res. of Eli Kirk Price, 1834 Spruce St. | Sixty years of Shipbuilding on the Delaware, by Charles H. Cramp. |
| May 3. | Res. of Richard W. Davids, Merion, Pa. | Old Pewter and its Marks, by Richard W. Davids. |
| Nov. 1. | Res. of Francis Jordan, Jr., 2228 Spruce St. | Ceramic Forgeries, by Edwin A. Barber. |
| Dec. 6. | Res. of John W. Townsend, 2103 Walnut St. | Notes on the American Flag and Some Others, by Charles E. Dana. |
| 1907. | | |
| Jan. 3. | Res. of Stuart Wood, 1620 Locust St. | The Western Eskimo, by Dr. George B. Gordon. |
| Feb. 7. | Res. of M. Hampton Todd, 2115 Spruce St. | Some Genealogical Gleanings, by Dr. John W. Jordan. |
| Mar. 21. | Res. of Charles E. Dana, 2013 De-Lancey St. | The Liver in Babylonian Divination, by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr. |
| Apr. 18. | Res. of Cornelius Stevenson, 237 S. 21st St. | The Sword Presented by Louis XVI to John Paul Jones, by Charles Henry Hart. Old Philadelphia, by James G. Barnwell. |
| Nov. 21. | Res. of Frank D. La Lanne, 2201 De Lancey St. | Body Armor of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, by Cornelius Stevenson. |
| Dec. 19. | Res. of John T. Morris, 826 Pine St. | A Brief Study of the Medal, its Origin and Early Development, by T. L. Comparette. |
| 1908. | | |
| Jan. 16. | Res. of John Frederick Lewis, 1914 Spruce St. | Fiftieth Anniversary; addresses by Charles E. Dana, John Story Jenks, Charles Henry Hart and Dr. John W. Jordan. Cornelius Stevenson read a memoir on General Kleber and exhibited a pair of stirrups formerly belonging to him. The Papal Jubilee Medal of 1900, by Charles J. Cohen. |
| Feb. 20. | University Club. | Letter to Brig. Gen. Edmund L. Dana from Wm. S. Oury concerning the Texas Ranger, Capt. Samuel H. Walker, read by Prof. Charles E. Dana. |
| Mar. 19. | Res. of Charles J. Cohen, 334 S. 21st St. | A visit to Monte Cassino, Italy, July, 1904, by Charles J. Cohen. |
| Apr. 16. | Res. of Robert Hobart Smith, 1221 Locust St. | Japanese Prints, by James Russell Harris. |
| Apr. 20. | Res. of George C. Thomas, S. E. cor. 21st and Spruce Sts. | Reception to the Society by Mr. Thomas. |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
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| 1908. | | |
| Nov. 19. | By invitation of F. D. Langenheim. Union League. | The Elizabethan Playhouse, by Dr. Felix E. Schelling. |
| Dec. 17. | Res. of Howard W. Lewis, 1928 Spruce St. | Block Books, by John Thomson. |
| 1909. | | |
| Jan. 21. | Res. of Henry Pemberton, Jr., 1008 Clinton St. | The Social Position in London of William Shakspere, by Henry Pemberton, Jr. |
| Feb. 18. | Res. of Carroll Smyth, 2110 Walnut St. | The Mirrors of the Greeks and Etruscans, by Dr. John C. Rolfe. |
| Mar. 18. | Res. of C. Howard Colket, 2008 DeLancey St. | How the Cuneiform Inscriptions were deciphered (oral address), by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr. |
| Apr. 15. | Res. of Eli Kirk Price, 1709 Walnut St. | Autographs and Portraits relating to the French Revolution, by Cornelius Stevenson. |
| Nov. 18. | Res. of Charles E. Dana, 2013 DeLancey St. | Cannon in the Fourteenth Century, by Charles E. Dana. |
| Dec. 20. | Res. of Francis Jordan, Jr., 2228 Spruce St. | Christmas at Moravian Bethlehem and at Oberammergau, by Carroll Smyth. |
| 1910. | | |
| Jan. 17. | Res. of Joseph Wright, 2023 Walnut St. | The Court of Star Chamber under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts, by Prof. E. P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania. |
| Feb. 21. | Res. of S. Wilson Fisher, 1502 Pine St. | The Book of Job, by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania. |
| Mar. 21. | Res. of James Russell Harris, 312 S. 15th St. | The Medallic Art of To-day, by T. L. Comparette. |
| Apr. 18. | Res. of Thomas S. Harrison, 1520 Locust St. | Some Phases of Indian Architecture, by James Russell Harris. |
| Nov. 21. | By invitation of Howard Longstreth. Racquet Club. | A Talk on Tapestry, by Prof. Charles E. Dana. |
| Dec. 19. | Res. of William M. Coates, 1717 Spruce St. | Fundamentals of the Building Art, by Dr. Warren P. Laird, of the University of Pennsylvania. |
| 1911. | | |
| Jan. 16. | Res. of John F. Lewis, 1914 Spruce St. | The Title Page—its Origin and Development, by John F. Lewis. |
| Feb. 20. | Res. of Joseph R. Wainwright, 1635 Spruce St. | George Cruikshank, by John Thomson, M.A. |
| Mar. 20. | Res. of Alfred I. Phillips, 315 S. 22d St. | Trial by Battle, by Alfred I. Phillips. |

| Date. | Location. | Paper and Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 1911. | | |
| Apr. 17. | By invitation of Westcott Bailey. Art Club. | The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancient Egyptians, by Prof. W. Max Müller. |
| Nov. 20. | By invitation of Caleb J. Milne. Rittenhouse Club. | Some Myths and Legends of Horses and Horseshoes, by Prof. Charles E. Dana. |
| Dec. 18. | By invitation of John W. Townsend. Union League. | Recent Excavations in Palestine, by Prof. George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College. |
| 1912. | | |
| Jan. 15. | Res. of Stuart Wood, 1520 Locust St. | Birth Omens and History of Monsters, by Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania. |
| Feb. 19. | Res. of Frank D. La Lanne, 2201 DeLancey St. | The Tile Architecture and Maiolica of Mexico, by Dr. Edwin A. Barber. |
| Mar. 18. | Res. of John Story Jenks, 1937 Arch St. | A Talk about Paper Money, by John Story Jenks. |
| Apr. 15. | Res. of Cornelius Stevenson, 237 S. 21st St. | Insurance and Business Adventure in the Days of Shakespeare and in those of William Penn, by Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson. |
| Nov. 18. | Res. of Charles J. Cohen, 334 S. 21st St. | Forms of Jewish Ceremonial and Worship, including the "Reading of the Law," by Charles J. Cohen. |
| Dec. 16. | Res. of John T. Morris, 826 Pine St. | "What my Coins have taught me," by John T. Morris. |

# 1910

# OFFICERS

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CHARLES E. DANA.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

FRANCIS JORDAN, JR.,
CORNELIUS STEVENSON,
JOHN T. MORRIS,
JOHN STORY JENKS.

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HON. R. ALONZO BROCK.....Virginia

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*Recording Secretary*.....DAVID MILNE.
*Treasurer*.....ALFRED INGERSOLL PHILLIPS.
*Historiographer*.....JOHN STORY JENKS.
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*Curator of Antiquities*.....WESTCOTT BAILEY.
*Librarian*.....WM. W. LONGSTRETH.

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T. LOUIS COMPARETTE,
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THOMAS SKELTON HARRISON,
ALFRED INGERSOLL PHILLIPS,
WESTCOTT BAILEY, *ex-officio*.

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JOSEPH WRIGHT,
FRANCIS JORDAN, JR.,
JOHN STORY JENKS, *ex-officio*.

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1893 Baugh, Daniel, Sixteenth and Locust Streets.
1890 Bement, Clarence S., 3907 Spruce Street.

1908 Coates, William M., 603 Chestnut Street.
1898 Cohen, Charles J., 334 South Twenty-first Street.
1893 *Colket, C. Howard, 2008 DeLancey Street.
1912 Colket, G. Hamilton, Real Estate Trust Building.
1909 Comparette, T. Louis, United States Mint, Philadelphia.

1892 Dana, Professor Charles E., 2013 DeLancey Street.
1898 *Davids, Richard Wistar, 632 Land Title Building.
1891 Dolan, Thomas, 1809 Walnut Street.

1909 Fisher, S. Wilson, Ambler, Pa.

1904 Hamilton, Charles L., The Bellevue-Stratford.
1907 Harris, James Russell, Art Club.
1888 Harrison, Charles C., LL.D., 400 Chestnut Street.
1908 Harrison, Thomas Skelton, 1520 Locust Street.
1865 *Hart, Charles Henry, 4717 Chester Avenue.

1858 Jenks, John Story, 1937 Arch Street.

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1893 Lewis, Howard W., 427 Chestnut Street.
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1912 Lippincott, J. Bertram, 1712 Spruce Street.
1909 Longstreth, Howard, Haverford, Pa.
1883 Longstreth, William, 2013 Chestnut Street.

1905 *Longstreth, William W., 203 Walnut Place.
1888 *Lyman, Benjamin Smith, 708 South Washington Square.

1890 Mercer, Henry C., Doylestown, Pa.
1888 *Milne, David, Eleventh Street and Washington Avenue.
1881 *Moore, Clarence B., 1321 Locust Street.
1891 *Morris, John T., 826 Pine Street.

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1910 Reilly, John, Jr., Salem, N. J.

1881 Scott, Hon. John M., 116 South Eighteenth Street.
1908 Smith, Albanus L., 29 East Penn Street.
1903 Smyth, Carroll, 2110 Walnut Street.
1896 Starr, Edward, 1808 Pine Street.
1884 Stevenson, Cornelius, 237 South Twenty-first Street.

1908 Thomas, George C., Jr., Chestnut Hill.
1912 Thomson, John, M.A., Thirteenth and Locust Streets.
1873 Todd, Hon. M. Hampton, 133 South Twelfth Street.
1893 *Townsend, John W., Bryn Mawr, Pa.

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1907 Vaux, George, Jr., Franklin National Bank Building.

1910 Wainwright, Joseph R., 1635 Spruce Street.

1912 Wetherill, Webster King, 2020 Chestnut Street.

1904 Wood, Stuart, 400 Chestnut Street.

1903 *Wood, Walter, 400 Chestnut Street.

1884 Wright, Joseph, 2023 Walnut Street.

1908 Wright, W. D. C., 2023 Walnut Street.

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Leibert, Rev. Eugene, Nazareth, Pa.
Le Moine, Sir J. M., Quebec, Canada.
Lincoln, Frederick William, London, England.
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Petrie, Dr. W. M. F., London, England.
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Milne, David.
Society of St. Andrew of Philadelphia.
Stewart, Frank H.
Vining, Frank W.

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Academy of Science, St. Louis, Mo.
American Historical Association, Washington, D. C.
American Numismatic Association.
American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.
Connecticut State Library, New Haven, Conn.
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill.
Kansas Academy of Science, Topeka, Kan.
Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference on International Arbitration, Lake Mohonk, N. Y.
Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians and Other Dependent People, Lake Mohonk, N. Y.
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J.
New York Public Library, New York.
Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus, O.
Old Northwest Genealogical Society, Columbus, O.
Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.
Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, Philadelphia.
Railway Library, Chicago, Ill.
St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Mo.
Schenectady County Historical Society, Schenectady, N. Y.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
United States Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.
United States Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.
United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.
United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C.
United States Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.
United States Treasury, Washington, D. C.
University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
University of Pennsylvania, Free Museum of Science and Art, Philadelphia.
Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, Vineland, N. J.
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

## FOREIGN.

Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal, Can.
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Cambridge, England.
Cercle Archéologique de Mons, Mons, Belgium.
Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris, France.
L'Institut Egyptien, Cairo, Egypt.
Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens, Stockholm, Sweden.
Musée Guimet, Paris, France.
Numismatische Gesellschaft in Wien, Vienna, Austria.
Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti, Palermo, Sicily.
Royal Numismatic Society, London, England.
Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland.
Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, Paris, France.
Société d'Emulation des Côtes-du-Nord, St. Brieuc, France.
Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsingfors, Finland.
Société d'Ethnographie, Paris, France.
Société des Americanistes de Paris, Paris, France.
Société Imperiale Archéologique, St. Petersburg, Russia.

# LIST OF PUBLICATIONS*

(Revised to date.)

1. Constitution and By-Laws of The Numismatic Society of Philadelphia, 1858. (Out of print.)
2. Charter, Constitution and By-Laws, 1865.
3. Proceedings, May 4, 1865, to December 31, 1866.
4. Constitution and By-Laws, 1870.
5. Proceedings, 1878 and 1879.
6. Proceedings, Presentation of a Silver Medal to the Hon. Eli K. Price, President, March 20, 1879.
7. Proceedings for the year 1880.
8. William Penn's Landing in Pennsylvania, Date for Celebration in A.D. 1882. Printed in 1881.
9. Proceedings for the year 1881.
10. Proceedings for the year 1882.
11. Proceedings, Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Foundation, 1883.
12. Proceedings for the year 1883.
13. Constitution and By-Laws, 1883.
14. Proceedings for the year 1884.
15. Proceedings for the year 1885.
16. Proceedings for the year 1886.
17. Proceedings for the years 1887–1889.
18. Proceedings for the years 1890–1891.
19. Proceedings for the years 1892–1898.
20. Proceedings for the years 1899–1901.
21. Proceedings for the years 1902–1903.
22. Constitution and By-Laws, 1905.
23. Proceedings for the years 1904, 1905, 1906.
24. No publication.
25. Proceedings for the years 1907, 1908, 1909.
26. Proceedings for the years 1910, 1911, 1912.

# THE MAXWELL SOMMERVILLE BEQUEST.

Under the will of Professor Sommerville, a former Vice-President, the Society was bequeathed $1000.00, and a proportionate share in the residuary estate. On September 5, 1905, the Society received from the executors of his estate the sum of $1864.18. On January 8, 1910, a further sum of $137.39 was received, making the total amount $2001.57.

This money now forms part of the Permanent Fund, the income alone being used for the expenses of the Society.

* The List of Publications as printed on page 15, Vol. 25, has been corrected as above.

# PROCEEDINGS

January 17, 1910.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Joseph Wright, 2023 Walnut Street.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, T. Louis Comparette, S. Wilson Fisher, Charles Henry Hart, Frank D. La Lanne, John F. Lewis, W. W. Longstreth, Caleb J. Milne, David Milne, Henry Pemberton, Jr., Alfred I. Phillips, Eli K. Price, Carroll Smyth, John W. Townsend, Joseph Wright and W. D. C. Wright. Mr. Joseph R. Wainwright was elected to resident membership. The resignation of Mr. B. E. Ogden from resident membership was accepted.

The report of the treasurer, Francis C. Adler, Esq., for the year 1909 showed a balance in the Permanent Fund of $10 and securities amounting to $3,500. In the General Fund the balance was $539.82.

Mr. W. W. Longstreth presented to the Society a bronze medal entitled, "Departure of the Fleet," Hampton Roads, 1907, which was struck at the United States Mint at Philadelphia.

A copy in silver of the Hudson-Fulton medal was presented to the Society by Ensign Albert M. Cohen, U. S. Navy. The medal was struck in commemoration of the discovery of the Hudson River in 1609, and of the introduction of steam navigation on the Hudson River by Robert Fulton in 1807.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen presented a bronze medal issued to commemorate the opening of the College of Physicians, Twenty-second Street above Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, on November 10 and 11, 1909.

A gold half dollar of California bearing the date 1853 was submitted for inspection. Mr. Comparette expressed the opinion that it had not been coined by the United States Mint, but was a private issue.

Professor E. P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper entitled, "The Court of Star Chamber under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts." See page 85.

February 21, 1910.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. S. Wilson Fisher, 1502 Pine Street.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Charles J. Cohen, S. Wilson Fisher, W. W. Longstreth, David Milne, Henry Pemberton, Jr., Alfred I. Phillips, Eli K. Price, Carroll Smyth and Walter Wood.

On motion, a vote of thanks was tendered to Professor Frederic Ward Putnam, of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, for the recent gift by him of his volume entitled, "Anthropological Essays," published in commemoration of his seventieth anniversary. The secretary was requested to send him the following letter:

*Professor Frederic Ward Putnam.*

Dear Sir:—The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia desires to convey to you its deep appreciation of the recent gift by you of your commemorative volume of "Anthropological Essays." The book is one of a series of notable achievements that have marked a long and illustrious career, which has added greatly to the fame of American scholarship, and our Society congratulates itself on being made the recipient of such a valuable addition to its library.

Very truly yours

(signed) David Milne, *Secretary.*

The treasurer drew attention to the fact that any member could obtain a certificate of his membership in the Society upon the payment of a fee of one dollar.

Mr. William W. Longstreth exhibited an old British coin composed of one-third gold and two-thirds copper.

Mr. Cohen showed a photograph of an antique statue, and said that Richard Mahler, of Berlin, wrote that in the middle of Rome, in the gardens of Sallust belonging to the Banca Commerciali Hali, was found a few inches below the surface a statue of a young girl. Nearby was the Porta Salaria, through which Alaric entered Rome, 410 A. D. Professor Lanziani states that the statue was probably hidden from the Western Goths at that time. It is made of grained Grecian marble, the style is Attic of the fifth century B. C., contemporary with Phidias.

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper entitled, "The Book of Job," a brief synopsis of which is here given:

The story of Job, told in prose in the first two chapters of the book and in the closing verses of the last chapter, must be separated from the philosophical discussion comprising chapters 3–42, 5, which is in poetry. The story serves as a text for the philosophical discussion; the originality of the book, as also its real value, lies in the discussion and not in the tale of Job's piety, and of his sufferings and patience. The story, in fact, does not appear to be of Jewish origin, whereas the philosophical discussion bears all the traces of Hebrew thought and of a point of view distinctly Hebraic. The name of Job is as little Hebrew as are the names of his three friends whose homes are in various sections of Arabia, just as Job's home in the land of Uz lies outside of the limits of Hebrew dominion. We find, indeed, in Babylonian literature the story of an ancient king of Nippur who reminds us of Job. His name is Tabi-util-Enlil* and like Job he is represented as one who was always careful to follow the dictates of the gods, who observed their festivals, who offered them tribute and tried to rule his people in accordance with right and justice. Despite this fact, the king is smitten with disease, and as in the book of Job there are attached to the story reflections, rather remarkable in their character, regarding divine government and the inability of man to understand the ways of the gods. In the Babylonian tale these reflections are put into the mouth of the king, whereas in Job the discussion is given the form of a dialogue between Job and his three friends. Each of these friends represents a distinct view of divine government, though all agree in the supposition that since this government is necessarily just, sufferings must come to an individual as a result of sin or for the purpose of testing his calibre and strength. The author of the book evidently sympathizes with Job whom he portrays as replying so effectively to the arguments of the three friends that at the beginning of the thirty-second chapter, which was originally the close of the book, the confession is made that the three friends "ceased from answering, for he was justified in his eyes." This close, which gave the book a rather skeptical character, was not

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* See the author's paper "A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXV, pp. 135–191, and the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1906.

satisfactory to the orthodox world of the fourth century, at which time the book appears to have received its present shape. Accordingly, additional discussions were added, and placed in the mouth of a fourth speaker, Elihu. The four speeches of Elihu must be regarded as independent productions, each representing an attempt on the part of some author to carry the discussion beyond the point where it was left at the close of the book in its original form. Two other writers, perhaps not altogether satisfied with the arguments of Elihu, conceived the idea of introducing God himself as taking part in the discussion, and as a result we have a series of magnificent chapters—two distinct speeches, describing in highly poetic and effective language the power and mystery of God's presence in the world. This composite and rather complicated character of the book is a testimony to the great popularity which it enjoyed, for in the ancient world a book was very much like an organism, in that it grew as long as the subject matter of the book aroused interest. The completion of the book, that is to say, the assumption of a definite and final form frequently meant the death of the book, or at all events the end of the period which gave it life and vigor. The closing verses, chapter 42, 6 to 17—in prose, as already indicated—represent the original conclusion of the old story which in its original form was merely a popular tale of a good man who withstood temptations, who suffered patiently and who was rewarded by the return of good health and by the restoration of all the losses that he had incurred.

### March 21, 1910.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. James Russell Harris, 312 South Fifteenth Street.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, Clarence S. Bement, T. Louis Comparette, S. Wilson Fisher, James Russell Harris, F. D. Langenheim, John F. Lewis, W. W. Longstreth, David Milne, Alfred I. Phillips, Henry Pemberton, Jr., Eli K. Price, Carroll Smyth, John W. Townsend and Joseph Wright.

The Society acknowledged the receipt of an invitation from The American Numismatic Society of New York to attend a private view of the International Exhibition of Medallic Art.

Mr. Langenheim was authorized to have made a box to hold the die of the Brinton medal.

Mr. T. Louis Comparette read a paper on "The Medallic Art of To-day," which was amply illustrated by medals.

Mr. Joseph Wright exhibited the Lincoln medal of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the secretary placed in the collection of the Society a replica of the same medal. The history of the medal is as follows: In 1908 a committee of the Grand Army of the Republic was appointed to prepare a medal in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln; the medal to be issued under the auspices of the Grand Army of the Republic, and to be distributed to the members of that organization. The plaster cast was executed by J. E. Roiné, a French sculptor, and the dies were reproduced in bronze by Joseph K. Davison's Sons, of Philadelphia.

April 18, 1910.

The meeting was held at the residence of Col. Thomas S. Harrison, 1520 Locust Street.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, Westcott Bailey, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, T. Louis Comparette, S. Wilson Fisher, James Russell Harris, Thomas S. Harrison, Charles Henry Hart, Frank D. La Lanne, F. D. Langenheim, John F. Lewis, W. W. Longstreth, C. J. Milne, David Milne, Henry Pemberton, Jr., Alfred I. Phillips, Carroll Smyth, Stuart Wood and Walter Wood.

Mr. Pemberton, chairman of the Publication Committee, reported that volume twenty-five of the Proceedings of the Society was ready for distribution. On motion a vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Pemberton and the other members of the Committee for their diligence and care in the preparation of the volume.

The chairman of the Library Committee, Mr. Colket, reported that the library had been fully catalogued, 4,621 cards having been used in the work. The library contains 1,972 bound books and about 1,800 pamphlets, and $600 was expended in binding. The committee further reported that through the efforts of John F. Lewis, Esq., the library had finally found a home on the third and fourth floors of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. On motion the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Lewis and Mr. Colket.

Col. Harrison exhibited a piece of the "Kisweh" or Holy Carpet that was carried to Mecca in 1899 to be used there to cover

the Kaabeh, which is a building in the eentre of the temple of Meeea. This "Kisweh" remains in place for nearly a year, and on arrival of the new holy earpet is eut up and sold to the pilgrims. It is made in pieees at the Citadel of Cairo and afterwards sewed together, preparatory to the approaching pilgrimage.

Mr. Cohen showed a photograph of a earved bone plaque found in 1845 during the demolition of a house in Horton Street, Reading, England. It was ealled Laurel House and was reputed to have been the residence of Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey and Richard Cromwell. The carving represents King David and his scribes. The date of the work is approximately 800 A. D.

Mr. Areher Milton Huntington was unanimously elected a corresponding member.

Mr. James Russell Harris read a paper entitled, "Some Phases of Indian Arehitecture," illustrated by lantern slides. [See page 97.] During the diseussion which followed the paper Mr. Harris expressed the opinion that the Mohammedan architecture in India had its origin in Persia.

November 21, 1910.

The meeting was held at the Raequet Club, Sixteenth Street below Walnut Street, by invitation of Mr. Howard Longstreth.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, Westeott Bailey, William M. Coates, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, T. Louis Comparette, James Russell Harris, Charles Henry Hart, F. D. Langenheim, Howard Longstreth, W. W. Longstreth, David Milne, Eli K. Priee and Alfred E. Pfahler.

Mr. Langenheim read a communication from Mr. George Garneau, chairman of the "National Battlefields Commission in Commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Founding of Quebec by Champlain," presenting a medal to the Society eommemorating that occasion.

He also reported that twenty-six miseellaneous coins had been presented to the Society by Mr. Dana, and that he himself had donated two 25 pfennig pieces to the eolleetion.

The final report of the Publieation Committee was presented. It showed the total eost to the Soeiety of publishing volume twenty-five to be $702.82.

The death was announeed of the following members: Honorary member, Frederick W. Madden, Brighton, England. Corresponding members, Dr. Ernest Theodore Hamy, Paris,

France; John Marshall Brown, Portland, Maine; Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, Baltimore, Md.; Prof. W. Krause, Berlin, Germany; Prof. Henry H. Giglioli, Florence, Italy; Dr. Henry R. Stiles, Hillview, Warren Co., N. Y.; Albert S. Gatschet, Washington, D. C.; Prof. Otis T. Mason, Washington, D. C.; Major L. A. Huguet-Latour, Montreal, Canada; Jules de Cleve, Mons, Belgium.

Mr. John Reilly, Jr., was elected to resident membership. An interesting collection of large photographs taken in Northern Africa was exhibited by Mr. Pfahler. Professor Dana read an interesting paper entitled "A Talk on Tapestry." [See page 107.]

### December 19, 1910.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. William M. Coates, 1717 Spruce Street.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, Westcott Bailey, William M. Coates, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, James Russell Harris, Thomas S. Harrison, Frank D. La Lanne, F. D. Langenheim, Howard Longstreth, W. W. Longstreth, David Milne, John T. Morris, Henry Pemberton, Jr., Alfred I. Phillips, John W. Townsend, Joseph R. Wainwright and Walter Wood.

The deaths were announced of the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., of Beyrout, Syria, and of Col. Alexander Konstostaulas, of Athens, Greece, both corresponding members.

Mr. Garrett L. Reilly, of Rosemont, Pa., was elected to resident membership.

The treasurer, Alfred I. Phillips, Esq., presented his report for the year 1910, showing a balance on hand in the Permanent Fund of $153.39, and securities amounting to $3,500. The General Fund has a balance of $95.64.

On motion, the librarian was requested to present to each new member a set of volumes of the printed Proceedings of the Society, providing that the distribution of the copies of any one year cease when the number has been reduced to fifty.

Col. Thomas S. Harrison presented to the Society five coins,—two gold Byzantine, one Greek, one Roman and one New Jersey copper of about the year 1787. Mr. Langenheim showed six cowrie shells formerly used as money which were presented to the Society by the United States Consul at Zanzibar.

The annual election of officers and committees to serve for

the ensuing year was held (see page 49). Mr. Coates showed a history of the world printed in Latin in 1756, which had belonged to the library of James Logan, secretary to William Penn. He also showed a Cranmer Bible bearing the date of 1540.

Mr. Dana read the copy of the following letter which had been inserted in the autobiography of John Fitch:

"Dept. of State,
"Patent Office, 29th Oct'r. 1829

"SIR:

"I received your letter relative to the late Robert Fulton's Patents, and the extracts which you mention are in the Explanations of his Drawings; but he cannot have any claim to boats above fifty tons, for the patent Law expressly excludes proportions, as they may be varied ad Infinitum—and his opinions stating that Boats could not run more than five Miles an hour, is in perfect concordance with many other of his opinions, not only arising from an ignorance of what might be done, but what actually had been done; for Fitch's Boat of which I was one of the three Directors, went at the rate of eight miles an hour in 1789—Mr. Fulton's Patents are founded upon the inventions of others, and not his own inventions or discoveries; for he never made a single improvement of any kind that originated in himself. . The Extracts are not in his Specifications, which form parts of the Patents. I am Sir respectfully

"WILLIAM THORNTON

"William Young, Esq'r. }
or Mr. Graham" }

Mr. Dana also read extracts from a copy of a letter written by Gen. Washington in camp at Cambridge in 1775, in which Washington complained of the inefficiency of the American officers.

Dr. Warren P. Laird, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper on the "Fundamentals of the Building Art," which was illustrated by lantern slides. [See page 125.]

JANUARY 16, 1911.

The meeting was held at the residence of John F. Lewis, Esq., 1914 Spruce Street.

Members present: Cornelius Stevenson, Francis C. Adler, Westcott Bailey, William M. Coates, Charles J. Cohen, T. Louis

Comparette, James Russell Harris, Thomas S. Harrison, F. D. Langenheim, Howard Longstreth, David Milne, Henry Pemberton, Jr., Alfred I. Phillips, Eli K. Price, G. L. Reilly, Joseph R. Wainwright and Walter Wood.

The death was announced of Gen. William Watts Hart Davis, of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, a corresponding member.

The auditors appointed to examine the accounts of the treasurer reported the same to be correct.

John F. Lewis, Esq., gave an address on "The Title Page—its Origin and Development," which he illustrated with many rare and curious examples taken from his own library.

February 20, 1911.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Joseph R. Wainwright, 1635 Spruce Street.

Members present: President Dana, Vice-President Stevenson, William M. Coates, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, James Russell Harris, Thomas S. Harrison, F. D. Langenheim, David Milne, John T. Morris, Howard Longstreth, William W. Longstreth, Alfred I. Phillips, and Eli K. Price.

The resignation of Mr. George D. Woodside from resident membership was accepted.

A letter was received from Mr. John Flanigan requesting that a Brinton medal be donated to the museum in Ghent, Belgium. The request was accorded.

Mr. Dana read the following letter written to his great-grandfather, Judge Peters, by William Rush, referring to the Market Street Bridge in this city:

"Philad$^{a}$ Jan$^{y}$ 18$^{th}$–1812

"*Dear Sir:*

"I receiv$^{d}$ your polite and very affecting letter of the 16$^{th}$ inst$^{t}$ with an enclouse$^{d}$ sketch, since I had the pleasure of your company, I think i have manage$^{d}$, the heads of the oxen, in such away as will be quite as picture$^{q}$, as the way your drawing suggest, and will be much less Subject to Criticism— But Sir your principal and irresistible request, most cordially prompts me into compliance, not in word only, but Eventually i hope you will be gratified, by

"My humble Service in deed.

"W$^{M}$ Rush

"Rich$^{d}$ Peters Esq$^{r}$"

The letter is addressed,

"The Honorable
Richard Peters
Judge of the District court of Pensy[1]"

Beside the address is written in Judge Peters' hand:

"Jany 18. 1812 W Rush, Carver Agrees to represent the Figure & Likeness of my late dear Wife, among the Emblems on the Schuylkill Bridge.

"She was the first Passenger over it & her Remains (a few Days after) were the first Object of funeral Procession over the Bridge."

John Thomson, M.A., Librarian of the Free Library of Philadelphia, read an interesting paper on "George Cruikshank," which was illustrated by lantern slides. [See page 133.]

March 20, 1911.

The Society met at the residence of Alfred I. Phillips, Esq., 315 South Twenty-second Street.

Members present: President Dana, Vice-President Stevenson, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, T. Louis Comparette, James Russell Harris, Thomas S. Harrison, F. D. Langenheim, Howard Longstreth, William W. Longstreth, David Milne, John T. Morris, Henry Pemberton, Jr., and Alfred I. Phillips.

On motion, Mr. Langenheim was instructed to send Brinton medals to the following:

Royal Numismatic Society, London, England.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Cambridge, England.
Society of Arts and Sciences, Batavia, Java.
Imperial Archæological Society, St. Petersburg, Russia.
University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. William Poillon, New York City.

Mr. Dana, the President, presented to the Society two Louisiana Purchase medals of 1904.

Dr. Barber, curator at Memorial Hall, presented a box for the die of the Brinton medal.

Mr. Langenheim reported that there is a complete catalogue in manuscript of the coins and medals belonging to the Society, now housed at Memorial Hall, and that the number of pieces is about 5,000.

Fig. 1. Patrick Henry's Cruet Stand and Shoebuckles.

On motion, the Committee on Numismatics was instructed to solicit from individuals and patriotic, ancestral, national and other societies, the gift or loan of their insignia, badges or decorations for our collection now at Memorial Hall.

Alfred I. Phillips, Esq., read a paper entitled "Trial by Battle," illustrated with lantern slides. [See page 149.]

April 17, 1911.

The meeting was held at the Art Club by invitation of Mr. Westcott Bailey.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, John T. Morris, Westcott Bailey, Charles J. Cohen, T. Louis Comparette, William M. Coates, Charles Henry Hart, Charles L. Hamilton, Thomas S. Harrison, F. D. Langenheim, Frank D. La Lanne, Howard Longstreth, W. W. Longstreth, Alfred I. Phillips, Eli K. Price, John W. Townsend and Joseph R. Wainwright.

The insignia of the Society of St. Andrew of Philadelphia was presented by the said Society.

Mr. Jenks presented a medal commemorative of the fiftieth anniversary of the First Regiment, National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Hamilton exhibited the original draft of five resolutions prepared by Patrick Henry protesting against the Stamp Act, which passed the Virginia House of Burgesses May 29, 1765. On the reverse side of this document is a memorandum written by Patrick Henry (after Independence was obtained) relating the incidents of the writing and presentation of the Resolutions. [See page 163.] He also exhibited the autograph letter of Patrick Henry endorsed as follows: "Copy of my letter to the President in answer to his offering the Department of State to me Oct. 16, '95." [See page 165.]

In addition Mr. Hamilton showed a pair of shoe buckles belonging to the same statesman, and a cruet stand containing three rare old Georgian solid silver salt and pepper boxes, and two old English cut glass bottles made in London in 1738. The silver is marked "P. H. 1777." [Fig. 1.]

Mr. Gilbert S. Parker, of Philadelphia, an invited guest, exhibited a miniature on ivory of Patrick Henry, mounted in gold and painted by Lawrence Sully in 1795.

Charles Henry Hart, Esq., addressed the meeting, giving an

account of the miniature and the portraits of Patrick Henry. [See page 167.]

Prof. W. Max Müller, of the University of Pennsylvania, gave an interesting talk, illustrated with lantern slides, on "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancient Egyptians."

### The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancient Egyptians.

Professor Müller's address, which was illustrated by many slides taken from Egyptian sculptures and paintings, was a summary of his long investigations which led him several times to Egypt (three times subventionized by the Carnegie Institution of Washington).

The geographical knowledge of the Egyptians, while not extensive, was about equal to that of the Hebrews. They were not a maritime people; for the Egyptian armies in Asia reached the Euphrates but never the Tigris. On the Upper Nile, however, they undertook remote slave hunting expeditions against the negroes; the boldest undertaking was a commercial expedition sent forth by Pharaoh, ca. 2500 B.C., south of Khartum in order that a dwarf should be brought from the forests of Central Africa. Some naval expeditions on the Red Sea are the greatest Egyptian achievements in seafaring; they were directed to the incense country, Punt, the Put of the Bible, inhabited by copper-red Hamitic tribes. The Libyans, inhabiting the north of Africa, appear as warlike savages; their representations show that the blond hair and blue eyes found among the Berbers of Algeria and Morocco are not due to the influence of the Vandals but date from earliest times.

Many pictures show the various tribes inhabiting Asia, partly warring with the Egyptians, partly in commercial intercourse. The high art and commercial ability of the Syrians appear as well as their strange weapons, their fortified towns in mountains covered with great forests.

Of wild animals the bear from Lebanon interested the Egyptians most; they attest to the occurrence of the elephant in Syria. The type of the Semites (who frequently have red hair like that of King David) contrasts strongly with that of the warlike Hittites in northern Syria and eastern Asia Minor. The pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Western Asia and of the Ægean islands appear as pirates giving serious trouble to the Egyptians, but the inhabitants of Crete as skilful goldsmiths represent the true centre of "My-

cenæan" art. From these regions came the various tribes of the Philistines whose immigration into Palestine we can trace on the Egyptian monuments.

Not only do Greek tribes occur among the pirates, serving as Egyptian mercenaries, but Italian tribes, such as the Sardinians. The Tursha, *i. e.* the Etruscans, are the most remote European nation represented (our forefathers were assumed to have lived in eternal darkness like Homer's Cimmerians). The sense of detail, which Egyptian artists exhibit, makes their representations of all these tribes a valuable source of information for anthropology.

### November 20, 1911.

The meeting was held at the Rittenhouse Club, by invitation of Mr. Caleb J. Milne.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, Westcott Bailey, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, T. Louis Comparette, James Russell Harris, F. D. Langenheim, Howard Longstreth, W. W. Longstreth, C. J. Milne, David Milne, Alfred I. Phillips, Eli K. Price, Carroll Smyth, John W. Townsend and Joseph Wright.

The death of Judge C. F. von Herbst, of Copenhagen, Denmark, a corresponding member, was announced.

Mr. Langenheim exhibited four medals, the gift of the Duc de Loubat; also an aluminum medal from California. He stated that the six Brinton medals presented by the Society at the April meeting had been received and duly acknowledged by the recipients.

He also reported that insurance had been effected on the collection of coins and medals deposited at Memorial Hall.

On motion, the Brinton medal was ordered sent to the Duc de Loubat as a gift from the Society.

The death was announced of Mr. Francis Jordan, Jr., one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society.

The President, Prof. Charles E. Dana, read a very interesting paper entitled, "Some Myths and Legends of Horses and Horseshoes." [See page 173.]

### December 18, 1911.

The meeting was held at The Union League, by invitation of Mr. John W. Townsend.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson,

Westcott Bailey, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, S. Wilson Fisher, James Russell Harris, Charles Henry Hart, Thomas S. Harrison, F. D. Langenheim, Frank D. La Lanne, Howard Longstreth, John T. Morris, David Milne, Alfred I. Phillips, G. L. Reilly, Carroll Smyth, John W. Townsend, Joseph Wright and Joseph R. Wainwright.

The treasurer, Alfred I. Phillips, Esq., presented his report for the year 1911, showing balance in Permanent Fund of $2.00 and securities amounting to $3,600. The General Fund has a balance of $321.25. The auditors appointed to examine the accounts of the treasurer reported the same to be correct.

A letter was received from the Duc de Loubat acknowledging the receipt of the Brinton medal and conveying his thanks for the gift.

The death of Prof. Francis A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., a corresponding member, was announced.

Mr. Stevenson offered the following preamble and resolution relative to the death of our late Vice-President, Mr. Francis Jordan, Jr.

"Whereas, in the death of Mr. Francis Jordan, Jr., The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia has lost its first Vice-President, and one of its most active and useful members. Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, his colleagues of many years, are profoundly conscious of the loss we have sustained. The memories of the unusually pleasant evening the Society recently enjoyed at Mr. Jordan's house, are still so fresh in our minds, it is impossible to realize that we never shall see him more.

"Mr. Jordan's researches into the lives and customs of the Indians, his investigations of the sites of their villages, have added greatly to our knowledge of that departed race; such also, has the possession of such a scholar added to the reputation of our Society.

"But we shall miss him far more because of the kindly, ready manner in which he ever helped us; because of his sympathy and because of the interest he always took in the Society itself and everything connected with it.

"But words, alas! are useless; this only can we add, that until the present generation of members passes away, there will always be a pleasant memory and a deep regret in every heart for our fellow member, Vice-President Francis Jordan, Jr.

"*Resolved*, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this meeting, and that the Secretary be requested to send a copy thereof to Mr. Jordan's family."

The following sketch of the life of Mr. Francis Jordan, Jr., prepared by his brother, Dr. John W. Jordan, was read:

Francis Jordan, Jr., third son and child of Francis and Emily Jordan, was born in Philadelphia, August 28, 1843, and died at his summer home, Point Pleasant, N. J., September 10, 1911, after an illness extending over a year. His early education was in private schools of the city (among them that of Henry D. Gregory), and in 1853 he entered Nazareth Hall Military Academy, from which he graduated. On reaching maturity he became connected with his father's firm, which was founded in 1778, and at the time of his death was the surviving partner of the firm of William H. and Francis Jordan, Jr., importers of chemicals.

During the Civil War he was a member of the Union Artillery Company, Capt. Isaac Starr, and in the Antietam campaign served in Hastings' Battery of Light Artillery in the field. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, of which his great-great-grandfather, Hon. William Henry, was elected a member in 1767.

His last literary work was "The Life of William Henry of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1729–1786, Patriot, Military Officer, Inventor of the Steamboat. A Contribution to Revolutionary History." 1910, 8vo, pp. 185, illustrated.

He married Mary A. Harding. His widow, two sons and two daughters survive him.

Francis Jordan, Jr., was descended from John Bevan, who came to Pennsylvania from Wales in 1683 with his wife Barbara Awbrey, and became a member of the Colonial Assembly.

He was also descended from John Wood, member of the Colonial Assembly for a number of years, and from William Henry. The latter occupied many important positions, among them Justice of the Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions and Orphans Courts, Member of the Assembly, Council of Safety, etc.

Frederick Jordan, the great-grandfather of Francis Jordan, Jr., was Sergeant in the second New Jersey Continental Line, and was at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The annual election of officers and committees was held. [See page 50.]

The resignation from resident membership of Mr. A. Howard Ritter was presented and accepted.

Mr. Hart exhibited a silver souvenir spoon eight and one-half inches long and weighing four ounces avoirdupois. Upon what may be called "numismatically" the obverse of the spoon, are at the top of the shank the arms of Ireland and of England with the crown of Scotland as a crest. The arms, on a double shield, are supported on the shoulders of a torso of Diana with a five-pointed star above her head, the body losing itself in the rose and thistle of Scotland. Lower down the shank, above the bowl, is a lion seated with his whole body facing the spectator, called in heraldic language sejant affronté, which is the royal crest of Scotland. On the reverse of the bowl are the arms of England, France, Ireland and Scotland on a quartered shield, supported by the Lion and the Unicorn, with a lion passant as a crest. Upon the side of the bowl is the mint mark of leopard's head crowned, date letter "K" and the lion passant, without the usual maker's mark. The letter "K" upon this spoon is the year mark for 1765. Mr. Hart stated that he had been unable to find any occasion of the period named that the spoon would seem to commemorate and expressed his opinion that the piece was a German reproduction, as the work was clearly a casting and that although it might be a casting and still be an original yet the mint mark being also cast showed in his judgment that it was not original, as then the mint mark would have been punched.

Mr. Dana said that he had made heraldry a life-long study and that the arms on this spoon were a rare jumble, with no heraldic veracity—that the harp of Ireland was upon a field vert, an heraldic impossibility, and that the royal arms of Britain in 1765 were quarterly 1, England impaling Scotland; 2, France; 3, Ireland; 4, Hanover, totally different from the arms on the spoon which he could not explain.

Prof. George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, delivered an address on "Recent Excavations in Palestine," illustrated with lantern slides. [See page 205.]

### January 15, 1912.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Stuart Wood, 1620 Locust Street.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, Charles J. Cohen, E. A. Barber, William M. Coates, C. Howard

Colket, Charles Henry Hart, Thomas S. Harrison, John Story Jenks, F. D. Langenheim, C. J. Milne, David Milne, Henry Pemberton, Jr., Carroll Smyth, John W. Townsend, Walter Wood, Stuart Wood and Joseph Wright.

Mr. Langenheim reported that the Smithsonian Institution had acknowledged the receipt of the Brinton medal.

The resignation of Mr. Charles H. Cramp from resident membership was accepted, and by a unanimous vote he was made an honorary member of the Society.

Mr. Stuart Wood exhibited a shin plaster issued by R. D. Wood & Co. at the furnace at Millville, N. J., dated January, 1849, "good for 12½c. in merchandise at our store;" also two letters of Stuart and Lincoln in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln, addressed to Wood & Abbott, Philadelphia, and dated Springfield, Ill., respectively January 15, 1838, and November 21, 1839, concerning the collection of some petty accounts. One letter reported the collection of $115, from which a commission of five per cent, or $5.75, was retained as a charge for collection.

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., gave an address entitled "Abstract of a Paper on the Babylonian-Assyrian Birth Omens and the History of Monsters," illustrated with lantern slides. [See page 217.]

February 19, 1912.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Frank D. La Lanne, 2201 DeLancey Street

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, John Story Jenks, John T. Morris, Charles J. Cohen, Westcott Bailey, C. Howard Colket, T. Louis Comparette, Charles Henry Hart, F. D. Langenheim, Frank D. La Lanne, Howard W. Lewis, C. J. Milne, David Milne, Alfred I. Phillips, John W. Townsend, Joseph R. Wainwright, Walter Wood and Joseph Wright.

Mr. Langenheim exhibited a five-cent piece and two new cents coined at the Denver Mint.

Mr. Colket reported that twenty-four bound volumes had been added to the library in 1911, making the total number of bound volumes in the possession of the Society, 2,004.

He also reported that the following articles had been transferred from the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Memorial Hall:

Mummified human head, human foot, hand and Hypocepha-

lus, all Egyptian; plaster cast of tablet, framed, from Palenque, and an ancient Peruvian coat, brown color with white design.

Mr. Cohen, on behalf of Mr. Coates, presented a bronze medal commemorative of the placing in the Church of All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower, London, England, of a tablet to William Penn. It was in this church that the founder of Pennsylvania was baptized October 23, 1644. The tablet was erected by the Pennsylvania Society of New York.

In commenting upon the medal Mr. Hart spoke in part as follows:

The profile is in no sense a portrait of Penn. There is no authenticated portrait of Penn from life known. The only portrait of him with any claim to being a likeness is the small bust carved in ivory by Sylvanus Bevan, a London apothecary and amateur carver. This was carved from memory some years after Penn's death, but Lord Cobham who knew Penn and Richard Penn, the son of William, esteemed it a good likeness. Had a profile of this bust been used for the medal, no comment would have been called forth, but when a characterless and fanciful effigy, inspired perhaps by the unauthenticated and doubtless apocryphal "armour portrait of Penn" is issued to perpetuate the memory of the founder of Pennsylvania, it seems to me that a record should be made by this Society of what the medal is and what it is not.

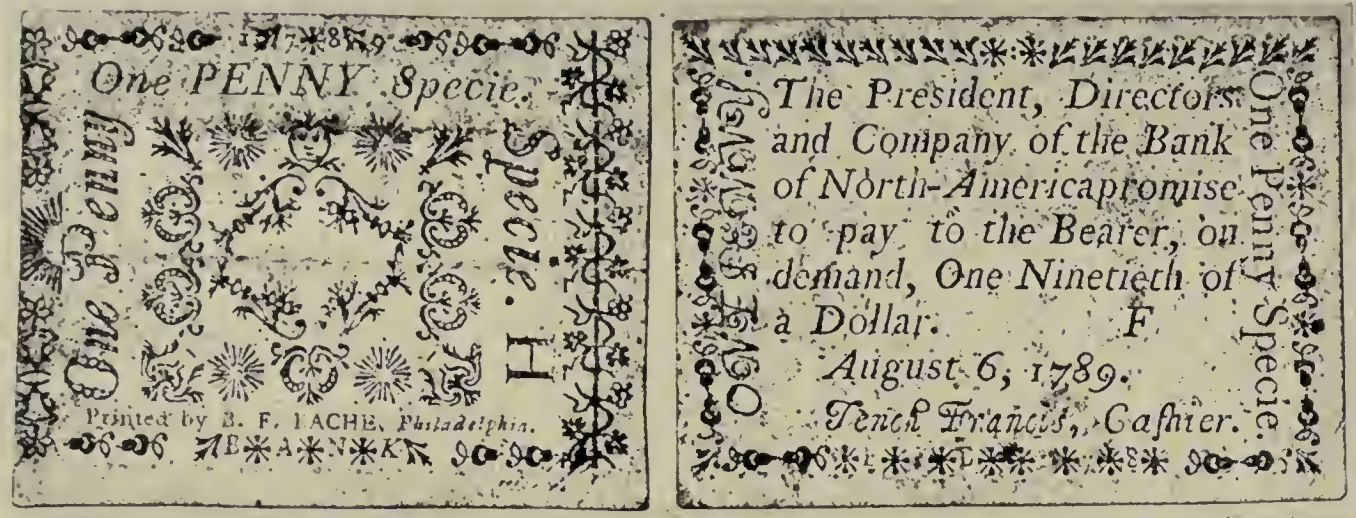
Mr. Colket called attention to the fact that this Society was incorporated fifty-four years ago to-day. In this connection Mr. Jenks said he had in his possession his certificate of membership bearing the date February 19, 1858, which he would present to the Society.

Dr. Barber read a paper on "The Tile Architecture and Maiolica of Mexico," illustrated by lantern slides. [See page 225.]

March 18, 1912.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. John Story Jenks, 1937 Arch Street.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Cornelius Stevenson, Westcott Bailey, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, Richard W. Davids, Charles Henry Hart, Charles C. Harrison, John Story Jenks, F. D. Langenheim, W. W. Longstreth, Howard Longstreth, C. J. Milne, David Milne, John T. Morris, Henry

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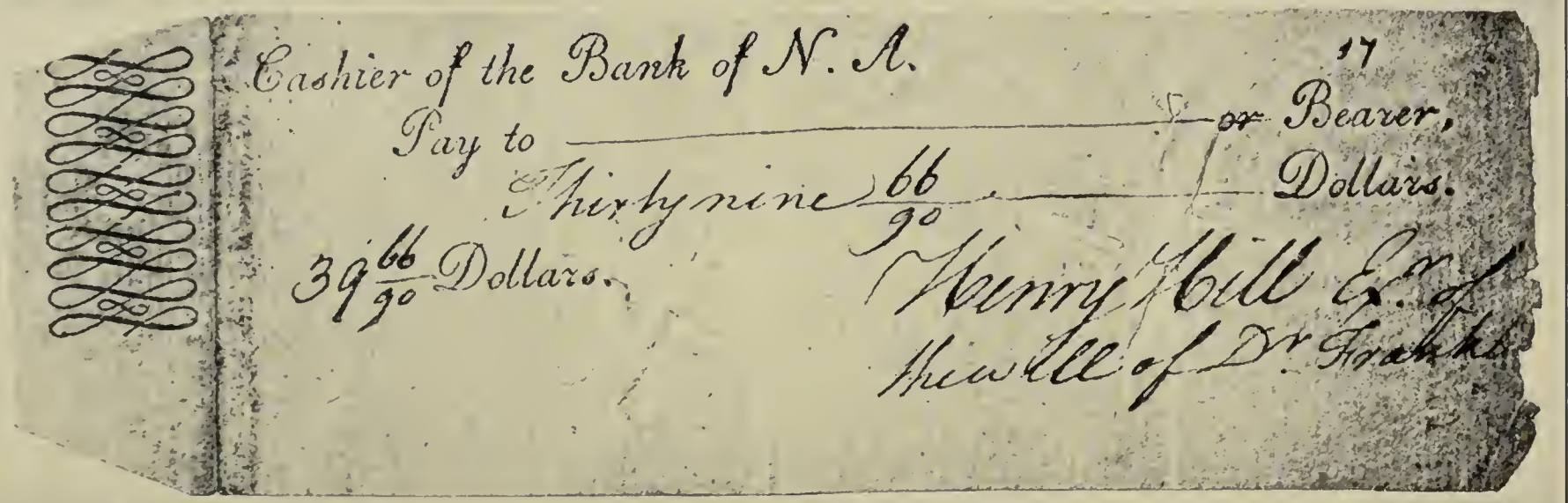


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Fig. 2. Bank of North America Note.
Fig. 3. Check signed by Executor of Benjamin Franklin.

Pemberton, Jr., Alfred I. Phillips, John W. Townsend, Joseph R. Wainwright, Walter Wood and Joseph Wright.

Mr. Philip L. Spalding was elected to resident membership. The Society was made the recipient of a volume descriptive of the exercises at the unveiling of a tablet to William Penn in the Church of All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower, London, England, issued by the Pennsylvania Society of New York, and procured by Mr. Charles J. Cohen.

Mr. Cohen exhibited a piece of silver which Ensign Albert M. Cohen obtained at Port-au-Prince, Trinidad, in 1908 from the West Indian negroes working in the asphalt lake and fruit orchards. The silver coins are put into a pot hanging from a cane over a coke fire and when of suitable softness the material is placed in a clay mold, then fashioned on an anvil with a hammer, etched with a tool while soft, and hung on the neck or ankle of a woman or child. This represents a saving fund and since the ornaments are rarely removed, the wealth of the family is known by the amount of silver thus carried.

Mr. John Story Jenks read a paper entitled, "A Talk about Paper Money." [See page 231.] Mr. Jenks had drawn from his private collection many rare and curious specimens to illustrate his subject. In the discussion that followed Mr. Dana described a system of co-operative banking current among the gondoliers of Venice. Each member deposits fixed sums at certain periods, and at the end of the year the profits are divided equally. Mr. Colket exhibited two one penny notes of the Bank of North America [Fig. 2], and a check signed by the executor of the estate of Benjamin Franklin [Fig. 3].

### April 15, 1912.

The meeting of the Society was held at the residence of Mr. Cornelius Stevenson, 237 South Twenty-first Street.

Members present: Charles E. Dana, Westcott Bailey, William M. Coates, Charles J. Cohen, C. Howard Colket, T. Louis Comparette, Col. Thomas S. Harrison, John Story Jenks, Frank D. La Lanne, F. D. Langenheim, John F. Lewis, Howard Longstreth, W. W. Longstreth, Alfred I. Phillips, Eli K. Price, Philip L. Spalding, John W. Townsend and Joseph R. Wainwright.

Mr. Langenheim exhibited coins which he had purchased for the Society. They were coined at the Denver Mint and consisted of a five-cent piece of 1912, and cents of 1911 and 1912.

From the San Francisco Mint were cents of 1908 and 1909, both with Indian heads, and two cents of 1909 with the Lincoln head, one with and one without the initials of the designer.

The following were elected to resident membership, viz: Mr. Edward J. Lavino, Mr. Webster King Wetherill and Mr. J. Bertram Lippincott.

Mr. Cohen presented to the Society a copy of the plaque issued by the Ohio Society as a souvenir of its banquet given in honor of President Taft. Mr. Comparette described the plaque as being based on a photograph of the President, and had been struck by Joseph K. Davison's Sons, of Philadelphia.

The Society listened to an erudite paper read by Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, entitled, "Insurance and Business Adventure in the Days of Shakespeare and in those of William Penn." [See page 241.] Mrs. Stevenson exhibited a marine policy, dated 1757, which had been signed by three underwriters. At the conclusion of the paper, Mrs. Stevenson was requested by the Society to allow the paper to appear in the Proceedings, to which she acceded.

Mr. Lewis showed bills of lading dated from the eighteenth century, and the matter of insurance and other questions brought up by Mrs. Stevenson's paper were discussed by Judge McPherson, Mr. Comparette and others.

In commenting upon Mrs. Stevenson's paper, Mr. Cohen spoke of the very excellent manner in which this subject had been handled by the author, showing a knowledge of the times that reflected great credit upon the care and extent of her investigation.

Mr. Cohen referred to the condition of the Jewish people in the time of Queen Elizabeth of England; the Jews having been expelled from Great Britain under the reign of Edward I, there were few living in England during the period of the War with Spain. One of the notable exceptions was the physician to the Queen, a Spaniard of the Jewish faith, a man of great ability; owing to the political excitement of the time, a charge was brought against him of being implicated in a plot to assassinate the Queen; for this he was arrested, tried, convicted and executed; subsequent investigation showing, however, that he was entirely free from guilt. It was evident that public feeling in England at this period was not in sympathy with the Jewish people; in fact, they were practically unknown, and the part of Shylock in the Merchant of Venice, to which Mrs. Stevenson frequently referred, was looked upon by actors as a comic character, always presented

on the stage with a red wig; it was not until a comparatively late period that a distinguished actor read into the part the dignity belonging to the human appeal that Shylock makes throughout the play. Mr. Cohen also referred to the fact that it was not until the time of Oliver Cromwell that Menasseh Ben Israel, a distinguished litterateur living in Amsterdam, by special permission visited Cromwell and obtained permission from him to allow his fellow believers, mostly Spanish and Portuguese Jews, refugees from Spain and Portugal under the expulsion of 1492, then living in Holland, to return to England. This was accomplished and resulted in a great advance in English commerce and trade, as also in the enlargement of banking facilities.

Taking up the Crusades, to which Mrs. Stevenson had referred, Mr. Cohen pointed out that in the progress of the Crusaders through the Continent, they lost no opportunity of replenishing their purse and commissariat from the Jewish quarter, the Ghetto, and on most occasions used the expression "Hep" frequently found of late years in modern literature, especially in George Eliot's writings; they are the three initial letters of the Latin phrase Hierosolyma est perdita (Jerusalem is lost). Incredible as it may appear, this practice still prevails in some parts of the world, especially in Russia.

In the letters from Pliny to the Emperor Trajan, there is mention of a great conflagration which took place in Nicomedeia, where the people simply looked on, and Pliny suggests to the Emperor to form an Association of Firemen, limited, however, to 150 members. This very moderate proposal does not commend itself to the Emperor, who replies, "Whatever name we give them and for whatever purpose they may be established they are sure to become factions, combinations, however short their meetings may be."

### November 18, 1912.

The meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Charles J. Cohen, 334 South Twenty-first Street.

Members present: President Dana, Messrs. Westcott Bailey, Baugh, Cohen, Colket, Comparette, Harris, C. C. Harrison, T. S. Harrison, Langenheim, Howard Longstreth, W. W. Longstreth, Milne, Stevenson, Walter Wood and Joseph Wright. Curator Langenheim reported the receipt of about one hundred coins for the Cabinet from President Dana, and from Mr. N. Barber, the

United States Consul at Canton, a twenty-cent silver piece of the Chinese Republic. A gavel made from wood from the first United States Mint, situated 37 North Seventh Street, Philadelphia, was presented to the Society by Mr. Frank H. Stewart. A vote of thanks was tendered to Messrs. Hamilton and Jenks for paying for illustrations of their articles for the forthcoming volume of the Proceedings. The chairman of the Library Committee reported that the accessions since the last meeting had been 25 bound volumes and 37 paper covers and pamphlets. The death was announced of Mr. Caleb J. Milne, a resident member, who died in London, July 1, 1912. The following were elected corresponding members: Charles D. Wolcott, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; Prof. Dr. Eduard Seler, Berlin, Germany; William Matthew Flinders Petrie, London, England; and A. J. Baron Quarles de Quarles, President of the Batavian Society of Arts and Science.

Mr. Cohen read a very interesting and instructive paper on Forms of Jewish Ceremonial and Worship including the "Reading of the Law." [See page 269.]

December 16, 1912.

The stated meeting was held at the residence of Mr. John T. Morris, 826 Pine Street.

Members present: Messrs. Dana, Stevenson, Cohen, Morris, Jenks, Westcott Bailey, Bement, Colket, Comparette, Fisher, Thomas S. Harrison, La Lanne, W. W. Longstreth, Milne, Pemberton, Phillips, Price, Townsend, Todd, Wainwright and Walter Wood.

The Treasurer, Mr. Phillips, submitted his annual report showing a balance on hand in the General Fund of $534.25, and $22 in the Permanent Fund. The investments consist of $3,500 Electric and Peoples' four per cent trust certificates and two shares of stock in the United Gas Improvement Company.

Mr. Stevenson, chairman of the Committee on Nominations, reported the names of the officers and committees to serve during the ensuing year; these were accepted and upon motion were duly elected. [See page 51.]

Messrs. John Thomson and G. Hamilton Colket were duly elected resident members, and Mr. Emile Guimet, Director of the Musée Guimet, Paris, was elected a corresponding member. A vote of thanks to Mr. Morris was adopted for his gift of $30

to purchase books for the library. It was reported that the case containing the Peruvian antiquities had been found with the cases containing the Proceedings at the rooms of The Historical Society, and had been sent to Memorial Hall. The librarian presented his annual report showing the accessions to have been 26 bound books and 52 paper covers and pamphlets, making a total to date of 2,030 bound books and 1,852 paper covers and pamphlets. Publications have been received from 35 different societies and institutions.

It was reported that the gavel presented by Mr. Frank H. Stewart had had a silver band placed upon it by Mr. Milne, who had defrayed the expense. The inscription is as follows:

"Wood from the first U. S. Mint, 37 N. 7th St., Philadelphia, built 1792. Vacated 1832. Demolished 1911. N. & A. Soc., 1912."

Mr. Jenks, Historiographer, reported the death of Emil Levasseur, Paris, honorary member, and also of the following corresponding members: Henry W. Haynes, Boston; Dr. M. Much, Vienna; John Austin Stevens, Newport, R. I.; Gates P. Thruston, Nashville, Tenn.

He also offered the following biographical sketch of the late Caleb J. Milne, resident member:

## Caleb Jones Milne.

Caleb Jones Milne was born in Philadelphia, January 4, 1839, the son of David Milne and Beulah Thomas Parker. In boyhood, he was a pupil at the boarding school of George Murray, a Scotchman, and well known educator, whose school was in New Britain, near Doylestown, Pa. Later he attended the Episcopal Academy where the Rev. Dr. Hare was Head Master. About 1855, he entered the office of his father, who was a manufacturer of cotton and woolen goods, in which business he became a partner in 1859. In 1886, he took his two sons into partnership under the firm name of C. J. Milne & Sons.

His activity in commercial life led him to invest in numerous industrial, mercantile and financial corporations, in some of which he assisted in the management. He served as a director on the boards of the American District Telegraph Company, the United Security Life Insurance and Trust Company of Pennsylvania, American Security and Trust Company of Washington, D. C., Finch, Van Slyck & McConville, of St. Paul, and was at one time

president of the Bank of America. He was prominently identified with many charitable institutions, among which were the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, of which he was a director for thirty-six years, a manager of the Howard Hospital for forty years, also a manager of the following institutions: the Hahnemann Hospital, the Philadelphia Home for Incurables, president of the Southern Home for Destitute Children, president of the Pennsylvania Working Home for Blind Men and president of the Pennsylvania Prison Society. By Governor Beaver he was appointed one of the inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary.

Generous and liberal, his gifts to the benevolent and charitable institutions were many. Most of his donations are unknown except to the recipients. There are records of free beds in perpetuity having been established by him in the following hospitals: The Hahnemann, the Medico-Chirurgical, the Pennsylvania, the Polyclinic and the Presbyterian; also in the Philadelphia Home for Incurables.

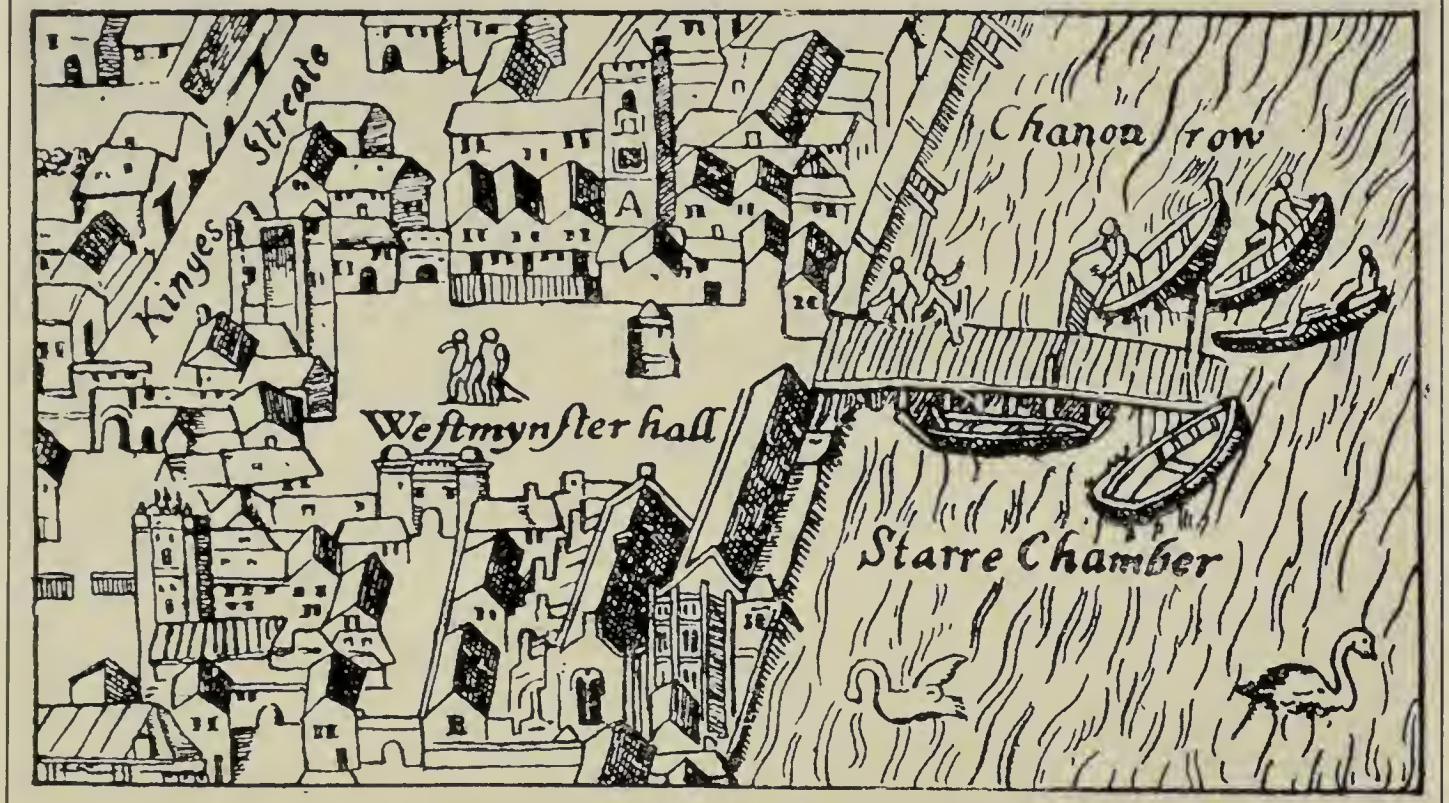
An officer of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb writes me:

"There is one side of Mr. Milne's character which few knew; by his kindly nature and his unobtrusive generosity to all, he earned amongst the pupils of our Institution the title of 'The Children's Friend,' and children know their friends when they see them. I seldom if ever beg for charity, it is the education of the pessimist. Once I did; the case was a most pitiful one, and nearly all the few rich men I appealed to replied generously, nearly doubling the minimum I set. Mr. Milne sent me a check for more than four times my minimum, with a letter begging me to allow him to double the amount sent if I could use it. The check took joy into the home of the unfortunate one; the letter made me feel that there was much more good in the world than one suspects."

His membership in social, patriotic and other organizations included The Union League, Rittenhouse Club, Art Club, Penn Club, Corinthian Yacht Club, Metropolitan Club of Washington, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Academy of Natural Sciences, The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia, New England Society, Society of the Sons of the Revolution, Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Society of New York, and Union Lodge No. 121.

Mr. Milne traveled extensively and it was while he was in London on June 30, 1912, that he was fatally injured at Trafalgar Square by a taxicab. He died the following day at Charing Cross Hospital and was buried from his country place, "Roslyn Manor," School House Lane, Germantown, July 13, 1912, at West Laurel Hill Cemetery.

At the conclusion of the business meeting Mr. John T. Morris read a paper entitled, "What my Coins have taught me," illustrated by lantern slides. [See page 289.]




BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF WESTMINSTER, 1578.

(*From Ralph Aggas's Map.*)

Fig. 4.

# THE COURT OF STAR CHAMBER UNDER ELIZABETH AND THE EARLY STUARTS.

By Edward P. Cheyney,

Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society, January 17, 1910.*)

The Court of Star Chamber won enough prominence and enough odium in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to obtain formal abolition by act of Parliament in 1641. It has left its name to later times as a synonym for secrecy, severity and the wresting of justice. It was the subject of much contemporary interest and description. Lambarde discusses it at length in his *Archeion;* Crompton describes it in abominable French in his *Autorité des Courts . . . de la Roygne;* Coke devotes to it a long chapter in his *Fourth Institute*, and it is the subject of a detailed Treatise by William Hudson, a lawyer who practiced before it in the time of James I. References to its existence and records of its activity meet us at every turn in the contemporary literature. Among modern writers it is the subject of a learned volume of the Selden Society, of a carefully prepared doctor's thesis of the University of Chicago, of several papers published in *Archæologia*, of a well-known passage in Hallam, of paragraphs in every constitutional history of England, and of some twenty pages in the most recent history of English law, besides many shorter descriptions.

These writings, however, have not been successful in presenting and disseminating a clear and satisfactory knowledge of the subject. Contemporary law writers were principally interested in the technicalities of the procedure of the court; the modern treatises have been devoted largely to the difficult questions of its origin and authority. Consequently our knowledge remains inaccurate, vague, and often incorrect. For instance, the Court of Star Chamber has gained a name for secrecy, yet its sessions were open practically to all comers. Its action is generally supposed to have been tyrannical and irregular, yet its procedure was quite as formal as that of any other court of equity. It is

frequently thought of as in some way exceptional and inconsistent with the life of its time, yet no branch of the government was more clearly an outgrowth of the conditions of the period in which it flourished. The object of this paper is not to discuss again technical questions which have been already fully treated, but, relying on contemporary records, to describe the Court of Star Chamber during the period from the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 to its abolition in 1641, a period of seventy-five years, in which its place and time of meeting, its constitution, functions and procedure, were all tolerably well settled. I wish also to connect its activity as clearly as possible with the life of the period in which it was most influential and to trace the steps of its downfall.

It cannot be complained that this tribunal did not have a "local habitation and a name." Star Chamber, the building in which it sat and from which its name was taken, was on the border of the Thames, at the extreme northeast corner of that confused group of halls, chambers, court-rooms, dwelling-houses, galleries and passage-ways that grew up during the middle ages about the old palace of Edward the Confessor at Westminster. (Fig. 4.) It was built about 1340 and was known from the time of its first construction by the name Star Chamber, or, as it appears more commonly in the French records of that time, "*la Chambre d'étoiles*, or in Latin, *camera stellata*. (Fig. 5.) It was just such a building as the Painted Chamber, the White Hall, the King's Oratory, Marculf's Chamber, St. Stephen's Chapel, the Bell Tower or any of the other parts of the old complex of government buildings; and the origin of its name, like theirs, must be inferred from some peculiarity of structure, use or purpose. (Fig. 6.) Star Chamber included at least two rooms, the main hall, and another room usually spoken of as the Inner Star Chamber opening from it. With other parts of the old buildings, it was torn down about 1836. (Fig. 7.)

The time of sitting of the court was as well established as the place. On every Wednesday and Friday in term time and occasionally for a few days after the close of the term, its judges assembled in the Star Chamber at nine o'clock in the morning. The law terms, or court terms, as it is probably unnecessary for me to explain, were the four periods in the year when all the courts at Westminster held their sessions. On January 23d began Hilary term, continuing three weeks. Then, after the

WEST FRONT OF THE STAR CHAMBER, FROM PALACE YARD.

*From Smith's 'Antiquities of Westminster.'*

Fig. 5.

Spring vacation, came Easter term, continuing something more than three weeks till Ascension Day. Trinity term covered another period of three weeks, falling in June or July according to the date of Easter. The "long vacation" covered the remainder of the summer and early fall. On the ninth of October began Michaelmas term, the longest of the year, lasting seven weeks.

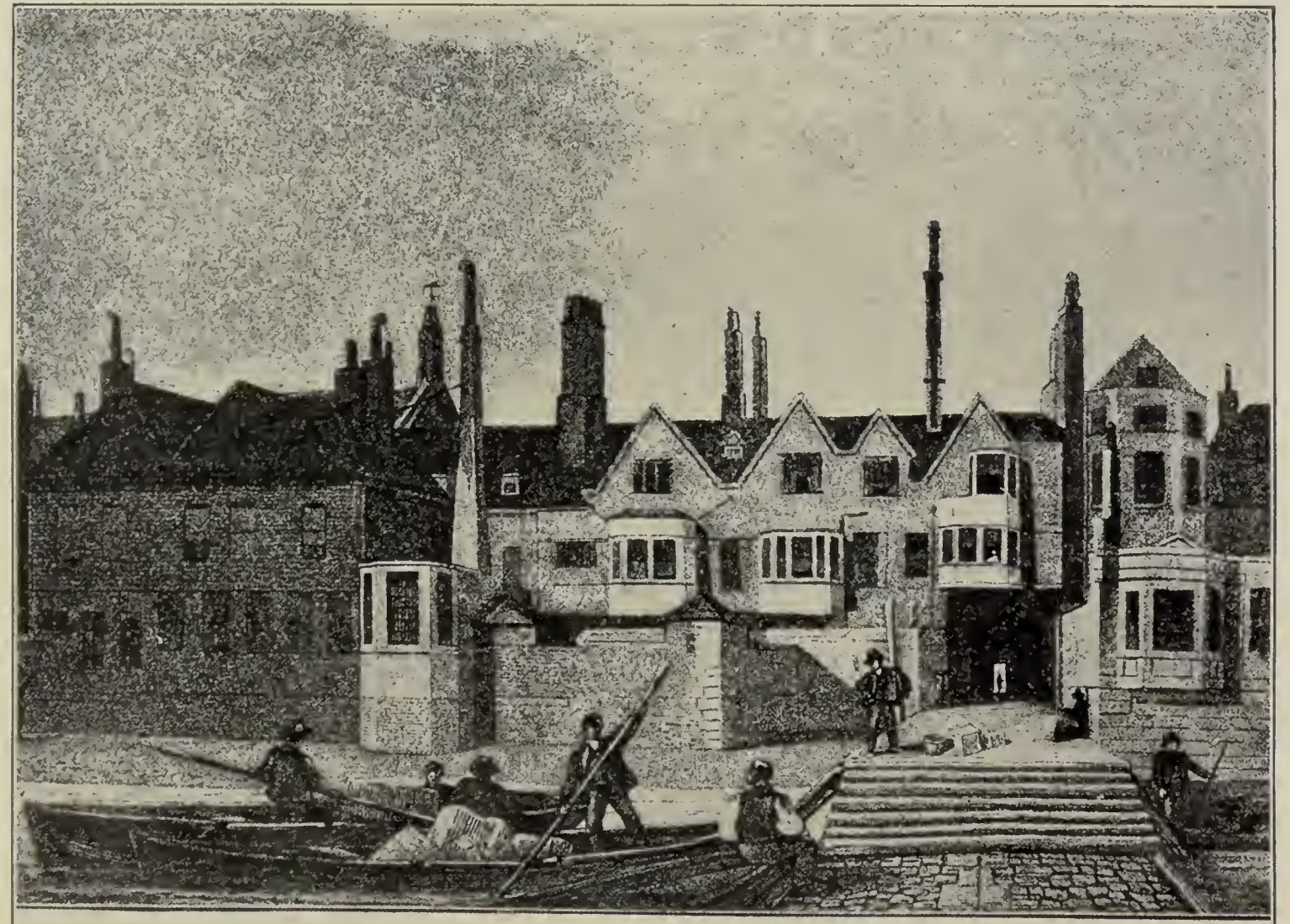
During these four periods Westminster Hall and its surroundings took on an activity quite in contrast with the relative torpor of the vacation periods. Judges, men of the law, suitors, witnesses and all those drawn by their interests into this concourse thronged the old buildings and the adjacent streets. The Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas and Chancery had each its place of sitting in the Great Hall, and the Court of Exchequer held its sessions usually in a detached building. Analogous to these courts, not far away, sat the Court of Star Chamber.

The fact that the Court of Star Chamber sat only twice a week, on Wednesday and Friday, not every day, or almost every day in term time, as did the other courts, is explained by the peculiar position of its judges. They were busily engaged on the other days of the week in quite another field of the work of government. In fact, the Court of Star Chamber was simply a special session of the Privy Council, adding to its number for these occasions the two chief justices or some other judges of the common law courts. When cases actually involving a veritable legal jurisdiction were to come before the Council, it took cognizance of them, with but few exceptions, not at its regular meetings, but at those special meetings which have already been described as taking place twice a week during term time in the Star Chamber, and where a settled body of legal customs had grown up. Here we reach the distinction between the Council Board and the Court of Star Chamber. It was not a difference of men, but a difference of function, a difference of procedure, a difference of place and time of meeting. The Council Board exercised a general administrative power, the Council in the Star Chamber was a court of Justice; the Council Board met where the sovereign was, throughout the year, and on any or all days of the week, whereas on two days weekly during some sixteen weeks in the year its members betook themselves to Westminster and organized themselves there as the Court of Star Chamber. The Privy Council had its own clerks, who recorded in the Council

book all its proceedings except those done when it was regularly organized as the Court of Star Chamber. For these proceedings there was a separate clerk and a separate set of entries and records. Finally, the Council Board had one form of procedure while in the Star Chamber had grown up the body of precedents and practices that will now be described.

In addition to the Privy Councillors there were regularly summoned to the meetings in Star Chamber the chief justices of King's Bench and Common Pleas, or some other justices of the law courts. As the sessions of Star Chamber were always in term time, this would only involve the absence of the judges from their regular courts for these two days in the week or parts of them. A typical session was probably that of Wednesday, November 15, 1581, when certain culprits connected with the presence of Campion, the Jesuit, in England were before the court. The judges present were Lord Chancellor Bromley, the Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Leicester, Lord Cromwell, Lord Buckhurst, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Norrys, Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, all Privy Councillors, and the Lord Chief Justice of King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Another chance instance may be taken from a period almost twenty years later, on the 20th of October, 1598, when the court consisted of Lord Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Archbishop Whitgift, the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, Lord Buckhurst, Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Chief Justices Popham and Anderson.

The attendance of the sovereign in person at the Court of Star Chamber was extremely unusual. Elizabeth never attended, and James and Charles only in a few exceptional cases. The royal arms, a vacant chair with the mace and purse lying before it, however, attested the theoretical presence of the king or queen and the dignity of the court as clothed with all the sovereign's power. The court, as a matter of fact, was a very dignified and orderly assemblage, all speeches being made in restrained and formal language and in the midst of profound silence of all others present. Even when, in the midst of the session of April 27, 1631, some mice came from behind the king's arms and one of them after running along a beam dropped on the back of Lord Chief Justice Richardson, the incident only served to point a



EAST FRONT OF THE STAR CHAMBER, FROM THE THAMES.

*From Smith's 'Antiquities of Westminster.'*

Fig. 6.

reference in the speech of the archbishop to the vermin he was just sentencing to fine and disbarment. In respect of dignity, this court bears a pleasing contrast to the Court of High Commission of the time, where the judges, even Bishop Laud, were often noisy, coarse-grained and foul-mouthed.

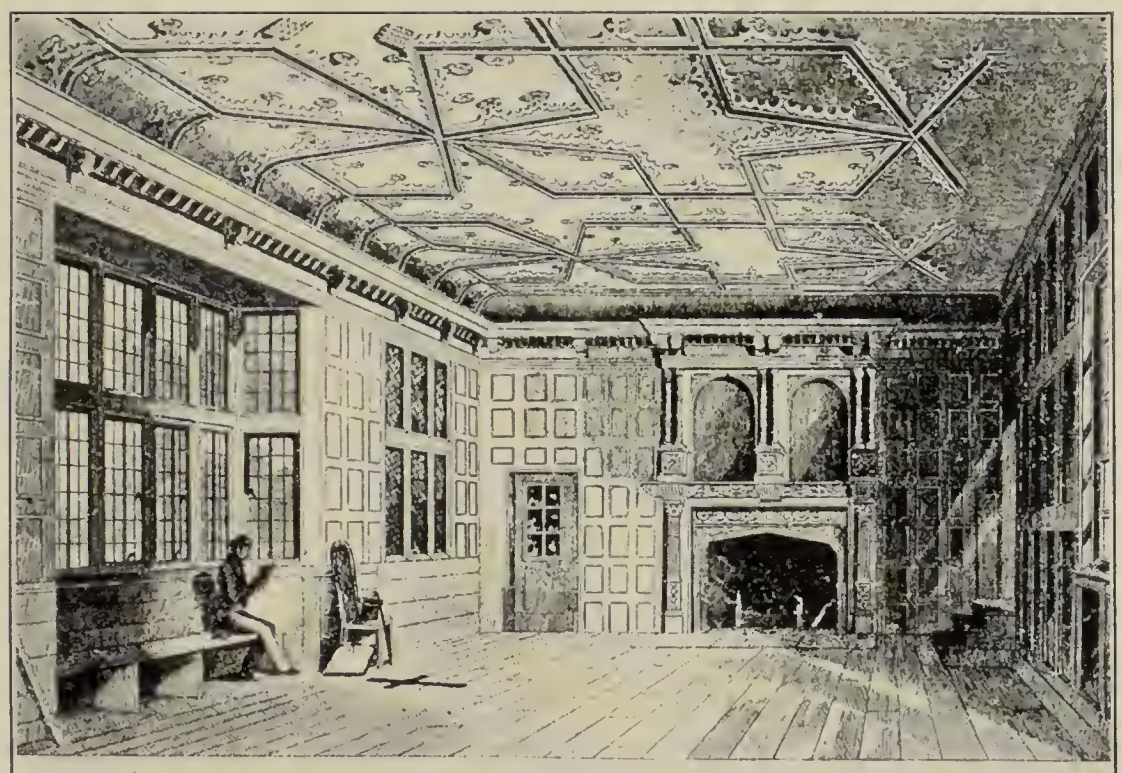
Contrary to prevalent modern opinion, and in contrast with the regular meetings of the Council Board, the sessions of the Court of Star Chamber were open to the public. The situation of the Star Chamber itself on the extreme edge of the group of Westminster buildings, gave ready access to it to all, except for the control exercised by the usher of the chamber. We hear of that official receiving profitable fees for providing convenient seats or standing room for young noblemen and gentlemen "which flock thither in great abundance when causes of weight are there heard and determined." At times, when interesting cases were to be before the court, people came as early as three o'clock in the morning to get places. The House of Lords, when Parliament was in session, frequently adjourned on Star Chamber days, principally for the purpose of allowing those noblemen who were also councillors to attend their duties there, but also doubtless to allow those lords who might be interested in the proceedings to be present. There are many other indications of the publicity of the sessions. When the Queen wished to have the misdemeanors of Archbishop Grindal brought to the attention of the public, it is declared that he is to appear and answer thereunto in that public place. When the Councillors think certain scandalous speeches that have been reported to them should be punished openly for the sake of example, they send the matter to Star Chamber. The Earl of Essex, in 1601, made it his first petition and looked upon it as his greatest favor that he was not humiliated by being summoned publicly into that tribunal. On the other hand, Sir John Smythe complains that he has been brought "into a public audience in the Star Chamber," when he might fairly have anticipated that his case would have been considered in some more private way. The Court of Star Chamber, in other words, was as public as any other court.

Such being the time, place, constitution and external practices of the Court of Star Chamber, the next important question that arises is the nature of the cases that came before it. In describing these no better procedure can be adopted than that of a certain writer who lived at the most critical period of the history

of the Court, and rose to be its clerk. In his own analysis of its powers he says, "if on the one side I shall diminish the force or shorten the stretching arm of this seat of monarchy, I should incur not only the censure of gross indiscretion and folly, but also much danger of reprehension; and if on the other side I should extend the power thereof beyond the due limits, my lords the judges and my masters the professors of the common law will easily tax me for encroaching upon the liberty of the subject, and account me not only unworthy of the name of my profession, but of the name of Englishman. Therefore to avoid all offence I will declare as briefly as I can what matters are there usually determined."

The vast mass and variety of cases that confront us in the records of the court and are passed in review by the essayists upon it seem at first sight almost to defy classification. But on closer investigation, and allowing for some exceptions, the cases will be seen to fall into two very general classes, cases connected with the breach of public order, and cases of direct violation of royal grants or command.

Of the first class of cases riots were perhaps the most familiar, unquestioned and natural occasions of Star Chamber action. Riots had been plentiful in times earlier than those with which we are engaged; but frequent instances are to be found even in the comparatively orderly times of Elizabeth, James and Charles. A familiar case is that of the inhabitants of the Fens who, in their opposition to the drainage works being carried on there from 1628 forward, demolished the dykes, beat the workmen, threw them into the water, burned their implements, put up gallows to frighten them, and committed other disorders. In 1631 a number of these men and women were brought before Star Chamber and heavily fined. Four years later thirty-five rioters in the forest of Braydon were sentenced to be fined, whipped and some of them set in the pillory in women's clothes, as they had been disguised during the riot. But the conception of riotous proceedings as being proper objects of punishment by the Court of Star Chamber was extended to a number of other actions not technically riots yet in their nature, origin or accompaniments analogous to such disorders. For instance, the giving of false verdicts by juries was frequently due, or had been due in more disorderly periods, to riotous threats against the jury. Thus the punishment of the malfeasance of juries became and long



THE INTERIOR OF THE STAR CHAMBER.
*From Britton and Brayley's History of Westminster Palace.*

Fig. 7.

remained one of the regular functions of the Star Chamber, even when there was no indication that the jury was overawed. The jury which acquitted Sir Nicholas Throgmorton on the charge of high treason in 1554, just before the opening of our period, were brought before Star Chamber and heavily fined. Again, in 1564 a jury of twelve men in Cornwell which had acquitted a notorious pirate are ordered by the Council to be sent up to Westminster "to thend the matter shall be heard the first day of the next terme in the Starre Chamber," and imprisoned in the Fleet prison during the King's pleasure. In 1602 an angry litigant who had attempted to stab a lawyer who had spoken against him was brought before Star Chamber and sentenced to have his ears cut off and to be imprisoned for life.

Unauthorized hunting in the royal forests was treated in the same way, and many a sixteenth century successor of Robin Hood was sent to Star Chamber for unlicensed hunting, even as another young man in Warwickshire was punished by Justice of the Peace Lucy for poaching on his preserves.

The active part which the Court of Star Chamber took in the many disputes which arose during the early Tudor and Stuart periods in connection with the enclosure of open lands was largely due to the element of disorder to which the disputes gave rise. The villagers who went out in numbers and turbulently dug down the banks, pulled up the hedges and filled the ditches with which the lord of the manor or some favored tenant had enclosed the commons, the woods or the open fields of the village, were obviously engaged in a riot. A letter from John Paston to the Earl of Rutland in 1549 describes a typical case of this kind: "Theys a gret number of the Commonse uppe abowte Salyssebury in Wylleshire, and they have pluckyed downe Sir Wyllyam Hubberde's parke that ys abowte hys newe howse and dyverse other parksse and commonse that be inclosyed and soo taken from them."

Moreover, the encloser was often the same man as was guilty of jury packing, bribery and intimidation. The inhabitants of the village of Drayeote in 1516 complain to Star Chamber that "thei are not able nor of power nor yet dare not sue for their remedie in the premises, and continue in your said countie, for fere of their lyves." Such disputes therefore naturally made their way frequently into the Court of Star Chamber.

So much for cases which were in some way connected with public order. Another whole class of cases the Court of Star

Chamber seems to have taken up, as already pointed out, from quite a different motive, that is the enforcement of royal authority. Punishment for the violation of royal proclamations was a simple form of such cases. Such proclamations or ordinances had been issued and were being issued from time to time on a variety of subjects. In 1580 Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation forbidding any increase in the number of houses or lodgings in London; the opinion being then widely held that the population of the city was already larger than could be properly fed or kept in order. A subsequent edict to the same effect was issued in 1598 and others by James and Charles in 1609 and later. But rents in London were high, and teeming as its narrow streets and alleys already were, there was a constant influx of people and an almost overwhelming demand for houses or lodgings. The royal decrees were therefore frequently disobeyed and in numerous instances this disobedience was punished in Star Chamber. A case based on the same principle came up in Easter term in 1634. Fifteen soap boilers in London were fined, imprisoned and forbidden any longer to carry on their trade of soap making, because, against the king's proclamation that only olive-oil and rape-oil should be used in soap making, they had used fish-oil which they bought from the Greenland Company, and had further increased their criminality by meeting in a tavern and in quite modern fashion agreeing not to sell their soap at less than a certain price.

Such being the principal classes into which the varied jurisdiction of the Court of Star Chamber falls, it becomes necessary to pay some attention to its procedure. Cases came before the court either as matters of public concern or matters of private relief or satisfaction. Cases of the first kind were introduced by the attorney general, those of the second by counsel representing the private party interested. The procedure was exactly the same in the two cases. A case might be deliberately referred by the Council Board to the Star Chamber or brought to the notice of the attorney general in some other way, and he then drew up a bill of complaint against the defendant. Or a private person might wish that someone who had offended him should be punished or hope to obtain damages for the injury he had suffered, and he then laid his complaint before the court. The Court of Star Chamber was a criminal, not a civil, tribunal, yet the offences of which it took cognizance were of such a kind as fre-

quently to serve for the relief of private injuries. Its reputation for granting liberal damages doubtless induced many persons to bring private cases before it. In fact, by far the greater part of Star Chamber work was brought to it by private petitioners.

The petition or complaint was known as a bill; it must be written on parchment, signed by counsel, and filed with the clerk. It must allege only offences properly punishable by the Court of Star Chamber and only such as the complainant held himself ready to prove. Otherwise he was in danger of being punished for bringing a false charge, which was not an infrequent occurrence. A writ of subpœna was then sent to the defendant, requiring his attendance in person on a certain day. In earlier times this appearance was always actually before the Court or the Council, or the Lord Chancellor in his own house; by the time of James the appearance was made before the clerk of the court only, and somewhat later, since a fee of ten shillings was payable, defendants of any standing were actually waited upon by the under-clerk at their lodgings to enter their appearance. The defendant must enter into bonds to remain within reach of the court. He now had an opportunity to see and copy the charge against him, and within eight days he must file an answer to it, confessing its truth, demurring to it on some grounds, or denying it. This answer must, like the complaint, be written on parchment and signed by counsel, and accompanied with an oath to its truth and to the willingness of the defendant to answer truthfully further interrogatories upon it. These interrogatories drawn up by the plaintiff or his counsel were the next stage of the trial. Upon these interrogatories the defendant was examined privately by the examiner, an official of the court; neither his counsel nor any codefendant being present to advise him as to his answer. Nor did he or his counsel have any knowledge of what these interrogatories were to be till they were read to him by the examiner at a private conference. He must simply answer briefly each question as it was put to him, and then sign his answers as they were recorded by the examiner. As a matter of very general favor the interrogatories instead of being put to the defendant by one of the two examiners of the court at Westminster were placed in the hands of four commissioners, two chosen by each party from a list of six submitted by his opponent. These men acting under a formal commission issued under the great seal and provided with all the papers in the case, examined

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the defendant where he lived or at some place agreed upon by both parties, and returned their formal written report to the clerk of the Court of Star Chamber. The plaintiff was then allowed to see the answer of the defendant to the interrogatories, and might if he wished put in a reply or a "replication" to this answer, and the defendant was then allowed to draw up a rejoinder to this replication, and indeed a surrejoinder and rebuttal were provided for, though these last processes, at the time of the greatest activity of the court, had long become antiquated.

Next came the examination of witnesses; this followed the same general forms as the examination of the defendant. Either the examiner of the court or special commissioners examined such witnesses as were brought to their notice by either plaintiff or defendant, each witness being examined on oath and secretly and their testimony written down and returned by the examiner or commissioners to the Court.

This concluded the formulation of the case. The plaintiff then entered his cause in a general book kept by the clerk of the court. The lord chancellor from time to time examined this book and selected from it the cases to be brought up at the next Star Chamber day. Those brought by the attorney general had precedence, and such others as seemed to the lord chancellor to need most immediate relief were taken in their order, one being usually set down for each Star Chamber day.

The defendant was summoned by writ of subpœna to be present at the bar of the court on the day set for the hearing of the case against him. The case was then opened by the clerk of the court, documents concerned with it read, or so much of them as the counsel for plaintiff and defendant should ask for. Counsel for the parties also spoke in prosecution or defence, and answered such questions as were put to them by the judges of the court.

It will be observed that according to this regular procedure, neither plaintiff, defendant, nor witnesses appear before the court at any stage of the proceedings, except the final appearance of the defendant at the bar at the close of the case. In all usual cases practically the whole matter was a documentary one.

No characteristic of the practice of the Court of Star Chamber has left a stronger impression upon posterity than the nature of its punishments. They may be distinguished into about ten forms: a fine payable to the treasury, damages payable to the

parties injured, pardon to be publicly asked of the persons offended, public acknowledgment to be made of offences either verbally or by standing or riding in some public place, with the cause written on paper and placed in the culprit's hat, the pillory, whipping, cutting off the ears, slitting the nose and branding on the cheeks or forehead. No one of these forms of punishment probably was unknown in other courts; but the irregularity of the cases that came before the Court of Star Chamber, the absence of definite statutory punishment provided for them and the disciplinary element involved in the action, of necessity led to a flourishing of bizarre and excessive sentences in the procedure of this court beyond any other tribunal in English history. Examples are only too readily found. For instance, a rogue who in 1626 had falsely accused various noblemen of participation with himself in the murder of Felton, on confession was sentenced by the Court of Star Chamber to be fined 2,000 pounds, to be whipped from the Fleet prison to Westminster and there set on the pillory with one ear nailed to its frame. Then that ear was to be cut off, his nostrils slit and his face branded with F on one cheek A on the other, for False Accuser. He was then to be returned to Fleet prison, whence he was later to be whipped to Charing Cross, there to be placed again on the pillory with his other ear nailed fast and subsequently cut off. Thence he was to be sent to the workhouse at Bridewell, there to remain for the rest of his life. That such a preposterous punishment differed rather in degree than in nature from others at the time, is, however, indicated by the fact that this same culprit had already been whipped in Sussex and burned on the shoulder at Huntingdon assizes for personating another man.

The number of suits tried in the Court of Star Chamber cannot be determined exactly, because of the imperfection of the records. It can only be said that they were very numerous. Hudson in his quotation of precedents refers by name to upwards of two hundred cases, and says he could count a thousand instances of a certain form of procedure. Rushworth in his *Memorials* gives an account of one hundred and sixty cases in the early years of Charles I. Thirty-one cases are reported for parts of the years 1631 and 1632. The Star Chamber meets us everywhere in the life of the closing decades of the sixteenth and first forty years of the seventeenth century. Great cases and small came before it; the nobleman, the clergyman, the merchant

and the peasant are either plaintiffs or defendants. Its actions are quoted, prosecution before it is threatened, its punishments are familiar spectacles. It is an active, conspicuous and influential part of the government during that period. Through the times of conflict and up to the very eve of its abolition, even during the year 1640, we find it exercising its active disciplinary functions in a wide variety and large number of cases.

It now remains to describe briefly the sudden cessation of this activity; to discover if possible the reason for the downfall of the Court of Star Chamber. There is but little evidence of any opposition to this court until the very end of the period of our study. The legal writers of the reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles: Camden, Smith, Crompton, Coke, Bacon, Hudson, Lambarde, all speak of the Court in terms of the highest praise.

The fact is that the Court of Star Chamber was an integral and consistent part of the system of government in control of the destinies of England during the sixteenth and the first four decades of the seventeenth century. There was no opposition to it that was not directed against the whole system of autocratic monarchy. With the extension of that system of government in church and state the Court of Star Chamber had grown and developed and it was destined by the very logic of conditions to stand or fall with it. The judges of the court were the ministers of the government. On Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday they were the ministers who carried on the administration; on Wednesday and Friday they were the judges who enforced the ideals of the administrative government through judicial processes.

Against this dominant system of government and against these ideals, there was much opposition; opposition from the parliamentarian, from the Puritan, from a few common law judges, from many lawyers, from a vast number of individuals of all classes in the country. But this opposition did not discriminate the Court of Star Chamber from the Privy Council, from the royalist decisions of the judges, from the high ecclesiastical powers of the bishops, from the autocratic claims of the crown. The period from 1620 to 1640 saw the antagonism of those in power and those opposed to them and their system becoming constantly more accentuated.

# SOME PHASES OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

By James Russell Harris.

*(Read at the Meeting of the Society, April 18, 1910.)*

No country affords a greater field of research than India: its geographical features, the varied conditions under which its humanity exists, the originality and variety of its arts, and the fact that the country is to-day a living entity, all combine to attest this statement.

Of all its arts architecture is the best exemplification of an art still living and practicing all the principles which caused its development as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in Europe.

The distinguishing feature of Indian art, in contrast to European, is that in the former the artist is absorbed in his work and in the means for best producing the effect he desires; in no way, as so often happens in the latter, feeling it incumbent upon him to copy something else, correct in itself, perhaps, but not appertaining to his purpose. As we find the people, so we find their art, intent in effecting the most efficient means for a practical result.

Added interest is offered to the study of Indian art; we can much more readily gain its true perspective, for, whereas we live in the midst of European and American art and are ourselves a part of it, that of India stands quite alone and can be viewed as that of another world.

Before we can consider intelligently the architecture of any country, we must have at least a speaking acquaintance with that country. Let us glance, therefore, for a moment at India geographically. Bounded on the north by the towering Himalayas, on the east by the Bay of Bengal and on the south and west by the Indian Ocean, it forms practically a continent in itself. In size, India covers an area that would include all of Europe, excepting Russia, and possesses quite as varied a population. It has every kind of climate from the intense cold of the Darjheeling winters to the fiery heat of Tanjore and the Madras country. It is easily understood, therefore, from both geographical and

climatic conditions, what a vast field the architectural monuments must cover and how varied they must be in form to fulfill the requirements of such varying conditions. But there is still another cause fully as instrumental in determining the forms of Indian architecture, and that is the religious beliefs of the natives. In all countries, architecture has been one of the great exponents of religious faith and worship and the temple has been the object on which the fervor, the skill and the labor of the people have been lavished.

In no other part of the world is the population so given over to living its religion as in India; there, it is not a thing apart, but an integral element of life: the ultimate aim of the individual is acquirement of a sanctity that an occidental would attempt to excuse did he possess it. Millions of the population live only to perform the pilgrimages to the various sacred spots such as Budd Gaya and Benares, and die happy after accomplishing this feat.

Bearing this religious fervor in mind, as we glance over the monuments of India, we expect and do find that the earliest monuments are really religious records, and we shall confine ourselves therefore to chiefly religious architecture as being the most complete and most illustrative of the thought and development of the country.

India is the country of religions—here the Buddhist, the Jain, the Mohammedan and the Dravidian live, often side by side, in absolute harmony, each too absorbed in his own belief to attempt to destroy that of his compatriots; we therefore find examples of different forms of religious architecture often in the same district, although naturally the general tendency is to group in districts. For instance, the finest examples of Buddhist art are to be found in northern India and in Ceylon; of Jaina, in the northern central country, of the Mohammedan mosques, in the Punjab or northern India, and of the Dravidian temples, in the east and south coast countries.

In a limited paper one cannot linger over the forms of religions nor their histories, intensely interesting as they are, but may only consider them wherein they have impressed themselves on their own peculiar forms of architecture.

We now proceed to consider the four great fields of Indian architecture, religiously classified: (*a*) the Buddhist; (*b*) the Jaina; (*c*) the Mohammedan; (*d*) the Dravidian or Hindu.

Buddhist monuments, chronologically the earliest, may be classified into the five following groups:

1. Commemorative pillars, called Lats.
2. Towers of circular plan, called in general, Topes and according to the purpose to which they were dedicated, Stupas, or Dagobas.
3. Enclosures of these mounds or towers, called Rails.
4. Assembly halls or temples, called Chaityas.
5. Monasteries or Viharas.

1. The general form of the Lat is a tapering shaft decorated at the necking and surmounted by a figure or some religious emblem. Few Lats are left standing, for as soon as the Buddhist religion lost its prestige in any section, the Lats werc overturned, removed or destroyed.

2. The sacred mounds or Topes are divided into two sorts—Stupas, erected to commemorate some memorable event, and Dagobas to mark some sacred spot connected with the life of Buddha.

A series of most interesting Topes are still extant in Ceylon at the sacred city of Anarhadapura. These, now overgrown with verdure and buried in a vast forest of waving palms, producc a solemn and imposing effect. The Tope of Sarnath now too battered to be imposing, still claims attention as commemorating the spot where Buddha first delivered the tenets of his faith.

The dimensions of the Topes vary widely, but that of Sanchi will afford some conception of their impressiveness. It is 125 feet in diameter at the ground level, is cncompassed by a six-foot passage at a height of 14 feet and thence ascends in an unbroken curve until it reaches a height of 42 feet. The Topes are composed of bricks laid in mud, originally covered with a four-inch coating of cement and decorated with painting or ornament. To the lover of the picturesque, many in their present state of decay, are more interesting than in a state of preservation.

3. That Buddhist form known as the Rail is exceedingly intercsting as an illustration of architectural development. The Rail was originally nothing more than the wooden four-rail fence that now often encloses our cow pastures. Upright stone pillars, pierced with lens-shaped holes into which were fitted stone rails, gradually supplanted their wooden prototypes and on these the stone decorator exercised his art—first carving discs of conven-

tional designs on the pillars at the rail levels, gradually extending this elaboration to the entire pillar and thence to the rails themselves until the rails of Sanchi and the great temple of Budd Guya became elaborately carved stone enclosures.

4. The temple or Chaitya is strikingly similar to our Christian basilica excepting that instead of being structural, nearly all of the Buddhist Chaityas are carved in the living rock.

It is interesting to note that nine-tenths of these rock-cut temples are found in one district—the Bombay country. A sufficient cause for these rock-cut temples exists in the fact that this section of the country is composed of a form of trap-rock, easily worked, uniform in texture and of great thickness with edges exposed in uniform perpendicular cliffs.

The finest of all these rock-cut temples or Chaityas is that at Karli on the road from Bombay to Poonah; this cave temple presents an exact replica of the basilican church—a central nave separated from the side aisles by pillars, a semicircular apse, side aisles enclosing the apse with an ambulatory and this apse containing a Dagoba or reliquary corresponding to the altar of the Christian church.

The entrance to this temple consists of three doorways leading one to the nave, and one to each side aisle; above the entrance is a gallery corresponding to the Christian rood-loft. The dignity and quiet of the separating columns of the interior, the arrangement of light which comes only over the entrance porch, forming an opening above the sanctuary and lighting it to the exclusion of the rest of the interior, produce an effect of unusual solemnity.

The Buddhist monastery, or Vihara, like the Chaitya, usually carved from the rock, is adjacent to the temple and consists of a series of cubicles surrounding a court, the former often superimposed for three or four stories.

The structural monastery, rare but occasionally found, is pyramidal in form, often of four or five stories in height, each story receding in dimension. The centre was originally occupied by halls of varying dimensions, used as day rooms for the monks; the cells facing on the different terraces. The absence of Viharas to-day may be accounted for by the fact that they were frequently constructed of wood or of inflammable material.

## B. Jaina Architecture.

The Jaina and Buddhist religions were so similar in origin, development and doctrines that naturally their architecture has developed on wonderfully similar lines. Could we trace Jaina art to its origin it would doubtless correspond almost identically with Buddhist art, but we come upon it full fledged about 1000 A.D., at which time Buddhist art has declined in the same ratio that Jaina art has developed.

During the three centuries from about 700 to 1000 A.D. India seems to have been so torn with civil war that all art records were unattainable, and on her emergence from this state we find the Buddhists have succumbed to the Jainas in the north and west and to the Hindus in the east and south.

One may grasp the essential features of Jaina architecture by studying in plan and in elevation one of its most noted examples, the group of temples at Mt. Abu, the most perfect and exquisite of their kind. The visitor to India is constantly reminded to study the beauty of the Taj Mahal, but seldom does he know, until it bursts upon him, of the exquisite, dainty grace of this masterpiece of Jaina architecture. In plan, the temple assumes that of the customary Jaina temple. The principal object here, as elsewhere, being a cell lighted only from the doorway, containing a cross-legged, seated figure of the saint to whom the temple is dedicated. The cell, as in all other examples, terminates upwards in a sikra, or pyramidal spire-like roof, common to all Hindu and Jaina temples of the age in the north of India. To this cell is attached a portico of considerable extent, surmounted by a dome resting on eight pillars; this portico is the most distinguishing characteristic of the style as well as its most beautiful feature. In this particular example the portico is composed of forty-eight free standing pillars, and the whole is enclosed in an oblong courtyard about 140 feet by 90 feet, surrounded by a double colonnade of smaller pillars, forming porticos to a range of cells, fifty-five in number, which enclose the court on all sides, precisely as in Buddhist Viharas. In this case, however, each cell, instead of being the residence of a monk, is occupied by one of those cross-legged images which belong alike to Buddhism and Jainism, and between which so many find it difficult to distinguish. Here, they are, according to the Jaina practice, all repetitions of the same image of Parswanatha, and over the door of each cell, or on its jambs, are sculptured scenes from his life.

In other religions there may be a great number of separate similar chapels attached to one building, but in no other would fifty-five be found, as in this example, each containing an image of the same saint, and all so identical as to be undistinguishable.

This frequent repetition seems to be an essential attribute of the Jaina religion and the depth of devotion seems to express itself thus, much as the oft repeated prayer in other religions is resorted to as being more efficacious. Externally the temple is perfectly plain and there is nothing to indicate the magnificence within, except the spire of the cell peeping over the plain wall, though this is the most insignificant part of the interior erection.

The claim to architectural merit in Jaina architecture lies in its detail—the general massing is too disunited and consists of too many small and similar parts, as for instance the numerous cellas of the surrounding court of the temples at Mt. Abu, just referred to.

Three distinctive features of detail command our attention —the flat dome, the structure and the square planned tower and spire. The flat dome is to the Christian dome as the projecting flat arch is to the voussoired arch. The Indian never makes a radiating arch but closes over his aperture by tiers of projecting layers of stone until they finally approach so closely that they can be united by one capping stone.

In the same way the Jaina formed his dome, not by radiating the forming stones from one centre, but by laying one flat circular projecting course upon another and enclosing the top circular aperture much as one would place a lid on a crock, the under side of each projecting course and of the capping stone thus affording surfaces for exquisite carving, delicate as Gothic tracery, not dependent on any constructional factor but purely decorative; thus, looking up in the Jaina dome, we view a hollow formed by concentric rings of lacelike tracery. Often the spaces between the supporting piers were so great that additional strength was required. This brought into play the feature known as the Strut—originally an inclined, supporting beam extending from below the capital of the pier to the under side of the centre of the connecting beam. The Struts from two adjacent piers thus met under the centre of the superimposed beam and produced an effect not dissimilar to the pure arches of our Gothic churches. These Struts, simple at first, became the objects of elaborate

detail and as at Mt. Abu, were so twisted, curved and carved that their structural function became of secondary consideration. Perhaps the most interesting Jaina detail is the spire or tower capping the sacred structure. These towers, called Sikrahs, are all similar, square in plan, each tier receding toward the top and the centre of the spire, forming what may be called a four-edged dome. No feature of Indian architecture is more typical or distinctive than the Sikrah and the traveling student hails from a distance its expressive form.

We shall consider under Hindu architecture, that known as Dravidian—the Dravidians being worshipers of either of the two great Hindu gods Siva or Vishnu. For the general architectural student's purpose it is scarcely worth while to discriminate between the two sects, for there is no essential difference between the plan or form of their temples. It is strange to note that there is a certain resemblance between these Hindu temples and those of the Egyptians, but with one remarkable difference: the Egyptian with his distinctive sense for architectural form has reversed the plan of the Hindu in his temple. Both having closed the sacred precincts with great walls, both have approached them by gateways, and both have secluded the sacred building within the enclosure; but whereas the Egyptian has led up to a climax, increasing the dignity of the structure as one proceeds from the Pylon or gateway to the courtyard and thence to the Hall of Columns and finally to the Sacristy of the God, the Hindu has exercised all his most lavish labor on the great gateways; these often towering for tens of stories into the air, only to place within the courtyard buildings inferior both in size and workmanship. This very apparent misconception of architectural law is symbolic of the unformulated mind of the Hindu.

Many of their temples are marvels of construction—marvels regarding vastness and elaboration of detail. This can be accounted for only by the fact of the over-population of the country and the consequent resources in cheapness of labor. Considering that the population was about thirty millions of people, it is easy to understand how works of immense size could be erected without difficulty. With a swarming population as in Egypt, but without the Egyptians' high ideals or desire for immortality, all they could offer to their gods was their tribute of labor and this was executed often in trivial and unformulated work. The Hindu's greatest aim was to furnish a field for display of his

powers of ornamentation. We find no manifestation of loftier aims.

The Mohammedan or Saracenic architecture of India is that of the invader adapting himself to conditions as he finds them. The Indian mosque is the legitimate development of the Jaina temple, and in fact, many of the mosques are merely adapted Jaina temples. We find in each case, the sacred covered enclosure with its monumental entrance and at the further end of the enclosure the prayer-structure itself.

Vigorous with architectural instinct, although a race of fighters not builders, the Mohammedans perceived how to employ the natives, conquered chiefly to execute what they conceived. The Mohammedan temple, though containing all the essential features of the Jaina, merely removed the central temple and finished the west wall of the enclosure with a series of niches containing the Mihrabs or prayer niches; in addition, they often added a monumental, arched screen between the pillars of this western loggia, producing an awe-inspiring effect, completely expressive of the vigor and reposefulness of the builders,

On this simple plan—a great courtyard, entered through a monumental eastern gate, and occasionally, in addition, south and north gates of less importance, a covered, colonnaded walk about three sides of the enclosure, the fourth divided into niches and preceded by an arch-screen—are built all the wonderfully impressive mosques found in India.

In so limited a paper it is impossible to dwell even cursorily on the entire field of Indian art, so we shall consider only some of the most splendid examples of its most splendid period—the reign of the great Moguls which lasted from 1494 to 1707. To correctly understand this most important style of Indian art we must have recourse not only to its strictly religious architecture, but also to those structures closely identified with places of worship, the monumental places of sepulture. These structures have absolutely nothing in common with European types and therefore leave us devoid of any means of comparison. They rely on entirely different features for their merit such as the disposition of their parts and their varied outlines. We find one note pervading all the early Mogul work, that of sobriety; and as we follow its course we find the same history story, of an entering wedge of less decorum developing until the style passes away amid frivolities akin to the baroque excrescences of Europe.

The great mosque of Delhi and Agra, two of the most wonderful structures extant for size and dignity, can best be described by comparison. Each occupies a central and commanding site within its respective city, that at Agra is raised upon a huge platform eleven feet high, reached by flights of steps on the south and east sides. That at Delhi is similarly raised, but is reached by flights of steps from three sides. These eastern entrance gates can scarcely be surpassed in awe-inspiring vastness and adaptability of scale as doorways. Both mosques are of red sandstone. The domes of the great mosque of Delhi are unique in their white marble construction with black marble zigzag inlay, those at Agra are of red sandstone banded with white marble.

While these great mosques impress by their vastness and dignity of design, they cannot surpass in charm the pearl mosque in the fort enclosure of Delhi. Built of white and gray marble and decorated with low reliefs, this building possesses a chasteness unsurpassed, and only certain details in the decoration indicate the coming decadence so soon to follow.

In closing, the monumental tomb must be considered as a culmination of elegance in Mohammedan architectural design. The ruler who proposed erecting a tomb for himself, began by laying out a garden outside the city wall. This garden he planned with walks, flowers, shrubbery and fountains; the walls were broken by gateways, elegant structures in themselves, and in the centre of the garden was raised a platform on which rose the building destined to be the tomb, but during his lifetime the pleasure house of the owner. After the owner was placed beneath its stones, its purposes completely changed. The former pleasure parties now come here only for prayer. Of these wondrous tombs, the fairest examples are those of Humayum, the first Mogul emperor, at old Delhi; of Mohammed Ghaus at Gwalior and the Taj Mahal at Agra.

The Taj Mahal has been so frequently and eloquently described that it is impertinent to attempt it here. A building alone of its kind, we can make no comparison; unique in the disposition of its parts, free yet united, stately but bending with inviting loveliness, screening the terror of death, and expressing the charm of eternal rest, this fairy-like building stands on its white marble pedestal in the midst of its garden of roses and cedars and aloes, surrounded by running streams, a true emblem of undying love and faith.

Reviewing rapidly and concisely, we note that the architecture of India is unique, as the country is unique, standing, as it does, a complement to itself; that its architecture is influenced by its religions more than by any other factor. Of these religions, the four most effective are the Buddhist, the Jaina, the Hindu and the Mohammedan. The solemn thought of Buddhist religion is best exemplified in the great solemn Tope rising on the plain or above the forest. The Jaina religion, overlaid with acquired superstitions, expresses itself in the gaily and daintily decorated marble temple. The Hindu religion, debased to a degree to inspire distinctive dread, is expressed through a great series of temples, vast, formless, unmeaning and awesome. The Mohammedan religion expresses itself through the quiet severity and solemn simplicity of its great arched screens, its lofty domes and its aspiring minarets: the phase not least beautifully expressed being the charm of lasting sleep in the final resting homes of their ancestral dead.

# A TALK ON TAPESTRY.

By Prof. Charles E. Dana.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society, November 21, 1910.*)

A few preliminary words about what I fear will prove even more of a soporific than I had expected, your Programme Committee having forgotten to provide lantern facilities, and I had so counted on the slides to help you through. The best I can now do is to promise to be as brief as possible and omit technicalities.

Tapestry is a much glorified textile; it can readily be made on the old-fashioned loom such as one meets with in many an ancient farm house. The principal difference between a thousand dollar a square yard Gobelins tapestry and a ten cent—or is it five cents?—dish-cloth is, of course, first the picture,—there is seldom any of merit on the dish-cloth; but the most important structural difference is that in the dish-cloth and all manner of other textiles, except tapestry, the shuttle holding the reed wound with the woof thread, flies from one edge to the other of the stuff to be woven, while in tapestry the bobbin, which replaces the shuttle, and holds some delicate shade of silk or wool, may only go as far as that same shade does, so, in a way, tapestry is a mosaic in wool.

Wool is used for the woof, weft or filling,—please note the good old Saxon words, *woof* and *weft*,—because it resists the ravages of time and retains its color far better than silk, though silk is much used at Beauvais, and some of the old Italian tapestries are entirely of silk. Gold and silver were also much used, alas, for many is the piece of glorious tapestry that was burned in order to get the gold from it. The warp—another good old Saxon word—is, as you all know, the sheet of vertical threads in an upright loom, or the threads stretching away from the weaver in the horizontal or low-warp loom. The tapestry warp threads are usually of linen or cotton, about thirty to the inch, and stretched with a tension of, say, seven pounds to the thread. The warp is the skeleton, and when the woof or flesh is tightly packed or hammered down, it completely conceals the skeleton, as it ought to.

How long the fig-leaf remained the latest fashion historians are unable to say, skins of aminals superseded it, although the fig-leaf may have retained its ascendency for summer wear, especially at balls. The Eskimo ladies still adorn themselves with skins, but textiles made their way into the exclusive sets among ancient Egyptians, Lacustrians, Assyrians, etc. In the rock tombs of Beni Hassan, not far south of Cairo, there is a fresco of a loom, very simple in construction, but a loom that would work; indeed, it is far easier to imagine the loom working than the ladies of weird anatomy squatting beside it. (Fig. 8.) The picture itself is over three thousand years old, and no doubt the loom in it had a long line of ancestors.

Penelope, according to the "Chiusi vase,"—say 400 B. C.—used a most inconvenient loom in which leaden weights attached to the lower end of each warp thread took the place of the lower bar or cylinder; this forced the weaver to work from the top downwards, but enabled Penelope to take quite graceful poses. They say that such looms are still used in remote parts of India. (Fig. 9.)

We know that true tapestry existed in the seventh and eighth centuries, from the finds of textiles made in the ancient burial places in Egypt of well-preserved costumes of Græco-Roman, Byzantine and early Mohammedan peoples. The ornaments on the dresses, which are those worn in life, are frequently of true tapestry either woven into the stuff or sewn upon it. Three pieces of tapestry, thought to be not not later than the eleventh century, were found in the ancient church of St. Gereon, in Cologne; these are now in the museums of Nuremberg, Lyons and the Victoria and Albert in London. Meginwart of Weltinburch, styled "tapetarius," peeps at us from A. D. 1200, and is the first tapissier we know the name of. In the "Livre de Métiers d'Etienne Boileau," Provost of Paris, 1277, there is mention of "Tapissiers Sarazinois" (of which more anon), and of "Tapissiers Nostrez," probably workers on the low-warp loom. In 1302 we have a record of "Tapissiers de la Haute Lisse," the high-warp loom used in the Gobelins to-day. Let me say here that to call the artists of the Gobelins "weavers" would be like calling a sculptor a "stone-cutter," so I am going to use the obsolete word "tapiser." Chaucer calls him a "tapissier."

In the thirteenth century the name of Arras becomes prominent. In 1313 a Countess of Burgundy ordered a set of six

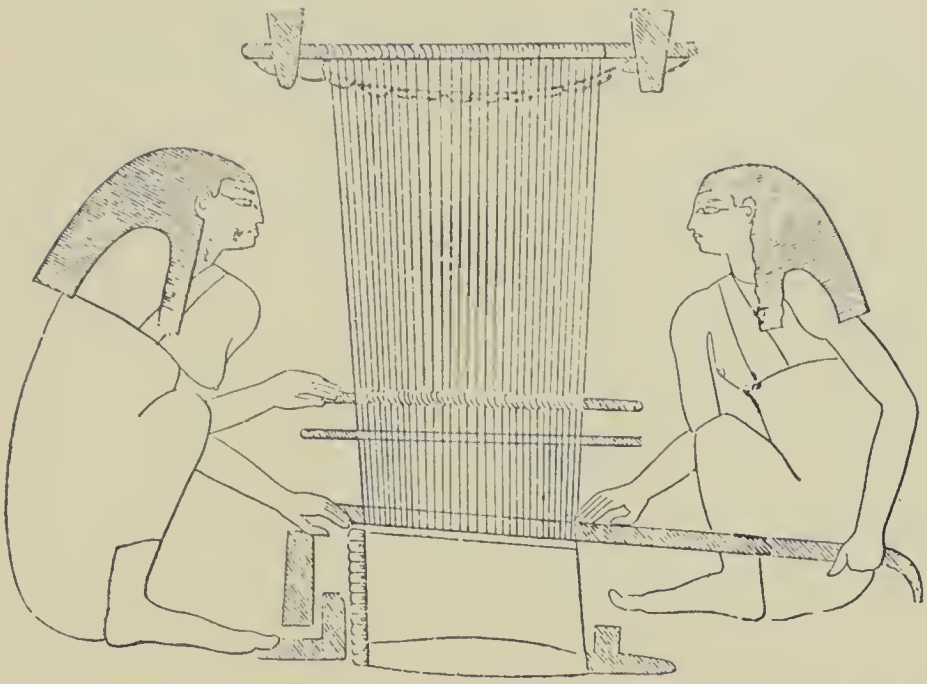


Fig. 8. Painting in the Tombs of Beni Hassan.
Egyptian Loom, three or more thousand years old.
On the Nile, south of Cairo.

Fig. 9. Greek Loom on the "Chiusi Vase."
About 400 B. C.
Note the weight at the end of each Warp Thread.
The finished Work grows from the top downwards.

tapestries made at Arras, and in the Cathedral of Tournay is a set of Arras dating from 1404, the earliest pieces from that busy little town that have been preserved to us. Arras soon became so pre-eminent that it gave its name to the material itself. Polonius says, "Behind the arras I'll convey myself." Prince Hal told Falstaff to "go hide thee behind the arras." The famous Raphael Tapestries, made in Brussels, are in the "Galleria degli Arrazi," in the Vatican. It would be well if we could rehabilitate that word, for to-day, under the name of "tapestry" masquerade embroidery, appliqué and all sorts of mechanical horrors, while the French, with their characteristic modesty, call all true tapestry "Gobelins," whether it be of ancient Arras, of Aubusson, of Mortlake or elsewhere.

When astonished at the amount of tapestry in the world at present, think of the possibly greater quantity that has been destroyed, especially by the French Revolutionists, and their even worse successors the Communards of 1871. In the old castle in the days when tapestry was an essential, people had raised discomfort to a science. The walls were of rough-hewn stone, a very prison, the ceilings vaulted or supported by huge beams, the windows little better than loopholes in the immensely thick walls, the floors were strewn with rushes which were often filthy in the extreme from the bones left by the dogs and the refuse thrown away by the easy-mannered guests. The huge buffet, or sideboard piled up shelf over shelf, gleaming with plate or pewter, was passing decorative, but it was left to tapestry to hide those awful walls, to soften the bench of stiffness, to decorate the dais on which sat the half-drunken lord of the castle, to brighten the streets at a fête, to add color to the interior of the church, to soften the hard lines even of the tomb. Tapestry was the greatest element of refinement; pictured sermons, ennobling tales from romance or history, or from the Bible, all set forth in a language that even the humblest could read and enjoy. Tapestry became so much a part of the daily life that princes off for a journey would carry a ton or so of it with them to make things home-like in their new quarters. They even carried it to war when they went—which was often. Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, took a selection of his magnificent arras when, in 1476, he went to chastise those insolent Swiss peasants who had defied him. Charles' tapestries now form a valued

part of the Museum in Berne, by no means the place where the fiery Burgundian intended to place them.

The inventory of the tapestries of Henry VIII, that cruel brute with six wives and a temper of unique vileness, who left this world for—let us hope, a much warmer one, in 1547, is in the British Museum, and in places is rather funny reading: "Hangings of Tapestry olde and sore worn. . . . I pece of Tapestry of a quene sittinge under a clothe of Estate having a gowne of redde branches and two boies at her fete having a hoole in thone side." That old brute Henry had 2,539 pieces, nearly all of them stolen. You remember how in 1539 he seized and distributed to his pals the great religious houses of England, ruining some of the most exquisite architectural monuments the world contained, rendered in many cases doubly beautiful by their unrivaled setting.

At the sale of the Crown effects in England, 1649 to 1653, from ten or a dozen palaces came forth more than twelve miles of tapestry! enough to reach from Broad Street Station to Chestnut Hill and hide all the breweries, lumber yards and other railroad hideousnesses! From Windsor alone came three-quarters of a mile of Siege of Troy. From Hampton Court came half a mile of "Abrahams"! Does that mean the ancient prophet's biography was half a mile long? One hundred and seventy-five years would make a goodly tale. I could find only two pieces immortalizing the name of Abraham. The prices of these made jolly pickings for the collectors of that day. Two shillings to ten pounds an "ell" of 45 inches, say, three to three hundred dollars of to-day.

The First Crusade ended, say, 1100, and the Crusaders managed to hold on to the Holy Land for a time. One thing they did gain, the refining influence of the more civilized Saracen began to penetrate through the tough hide of the Western savages. Oriental stuffs they must have brought home in quantities, for so many that we have still retained their eastern names: *sarcenet*, a fine silk greatly in use for linings, comes from Saracen, though possibly those of Spain; *Tabby*, a watered or striped stuff comes from a street or quarter in Baghdad; Uttaby, named after a prince Attaby. *Muslin* is from Mossul in Kurdistan. *Damask* from Damascus, of course. Cairo made yellow silk standards and robes so fine they could be passed through a finger ring,—size not given. At Tinnis was made a wonderful iridescent stuff called Bukalamun, probably from the chameleon, whose

name was Abu Kalamun. To the Oriental the far-famed Ananias Club would be but a kindergarten; for example: The pavilion of the Vizier Yazury had a centre pole 108 feet high and 11 feet thick at the base. The tent itself occupied one hundred and fifty men nine years to make, and the cost was in millions about what suited the Vizier at the time he mentioned it. Another pavilion was called El Katul, the "Killer," because at least one man was crushed every time they put it up. The Muslim was forced to get Christians to do all his figure work, except representations of El Boraq, the steed Mohammed flew up to heaven on; that monster, it was acknowledged, did not resemble anything on earth, in heaven or the waters under the earth. If the Muslim perpetrated figures, these ungrateful art creations would appear before him at the Judgment Day and each demand a soul, the unhappy artist not having a supply of such on hand would then be dragged on his face by disagreeable demons to Jehannum, a most lurid place of torture. Mohammed also forbade Muslims to wear silk, so they mix a little cotton with it and tell the angel who always comes to cross-examine them in the tomb, that it was cotton,—it is in truth a mixture.

The accounts of these oriental stuffs, the embroideries and tapestries in particular, are absolutely bewildering, but when they reach the West, the "Sara-zi-nois," or oriental tapestry, has become a crudely embroidered cotton cloth. The most famous specimen of this is the so-called "Bayeux Tapestry," which, though not tapestry and certainly not artistic, is,—well, pretty nearly if not quite the most interesting document in the world. It is a piece of linen stuff, about 20 inches wide and 231 feet long, and represents the conquest of England by the Normans (1066), together with the events leading up to it. There are seventy-two pictures, each surmounted by a Latin description. Anything more crude could not be imagined; the green horse with blue near and yellow off legs, to help the perspective, meets in the most friendly manner the yellow steed with green legs, etc. But, while easy to scoff at, the amount of information we have obtained from it about the Normans, their costume, armor, etc., is very great. The Bayeux Tapestry is often said to have been made by Queen Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, aided by her blonde Norman maidens; there is not the slightest proof of this and the "Tapestry" is not even mentioned in any document until 1363, nearly three hundred years

after Matilda's death. It is more probable that it was made by Norman work-people for Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the half-brother of William the Conqueror; many local details make it almost certain that it is contemporaneous with the subject, or very nearly so. Workers on this sort of stuff formed a Gild in 1200, or if you prefer the false spelling—g-u-i-l-d, please add the "u" yourself; such gilds were the precursors of our trade-unions, shared some of their faults, though these were offset by several good qualities to which our modern unions have not as yet risen,—such as a careful examination of the output of the members, which, when not up to the fairly high standard fixed by the "Jurés," was destroyed; meting out to the members strict, sensible though in some cases rather a narrow idea of justice.

Julius Cæsar, half a century before our era, conquered a lot of savages whose lands extended from the North Sea to the Pyrenees and annexed the whole country to the Roman Empire, not that it was of any value but because that was the usual thing to do under the circumstances. If that same Julius Cæsar could have peered into the future he would have rubbed his eyes with amazement, for he might have seen the great-grandsons of these same vanquished savages living, in their own Gallic land, in villas more sumptuous than those of their Roman conquerors, supplying Rome itself not only with foodstuffs, but with objects of art and luxury, amongst them the latest fashions in glass, in metal, including gold and silver plating, and, more to our purpose, with textiles rivaling in color and delicacy of texture the most famous looms of the Orient. Can anyone explain how it happened that Dame Europa's spoiled child France managed at the very beginning of her history to seize the leadership in art and to hold it as tenaciously to-day as ever?

Hear what Guglielmo Ferrero says ("Characters and Events in Roman History," Putman's Sons, N. Y., 1909, p. 88 *et seq.*): The edict of Diocletian fixing sale prices, mentions the *birrus* of the Nervii, a very fine linen cloth, worn by ladies of fashion, these Nervii being one of the most remote of the Gallic people, living—the coincidence is noteworthy—about where Flanders is now. Pliny says, "The Gaul imitates with herbs all colors, including Tyrian purple; they do not seek the mollusk on the sea bottom. . . . They gather the herbs like cereals, standing on the dry ground; although the color that they derive does not

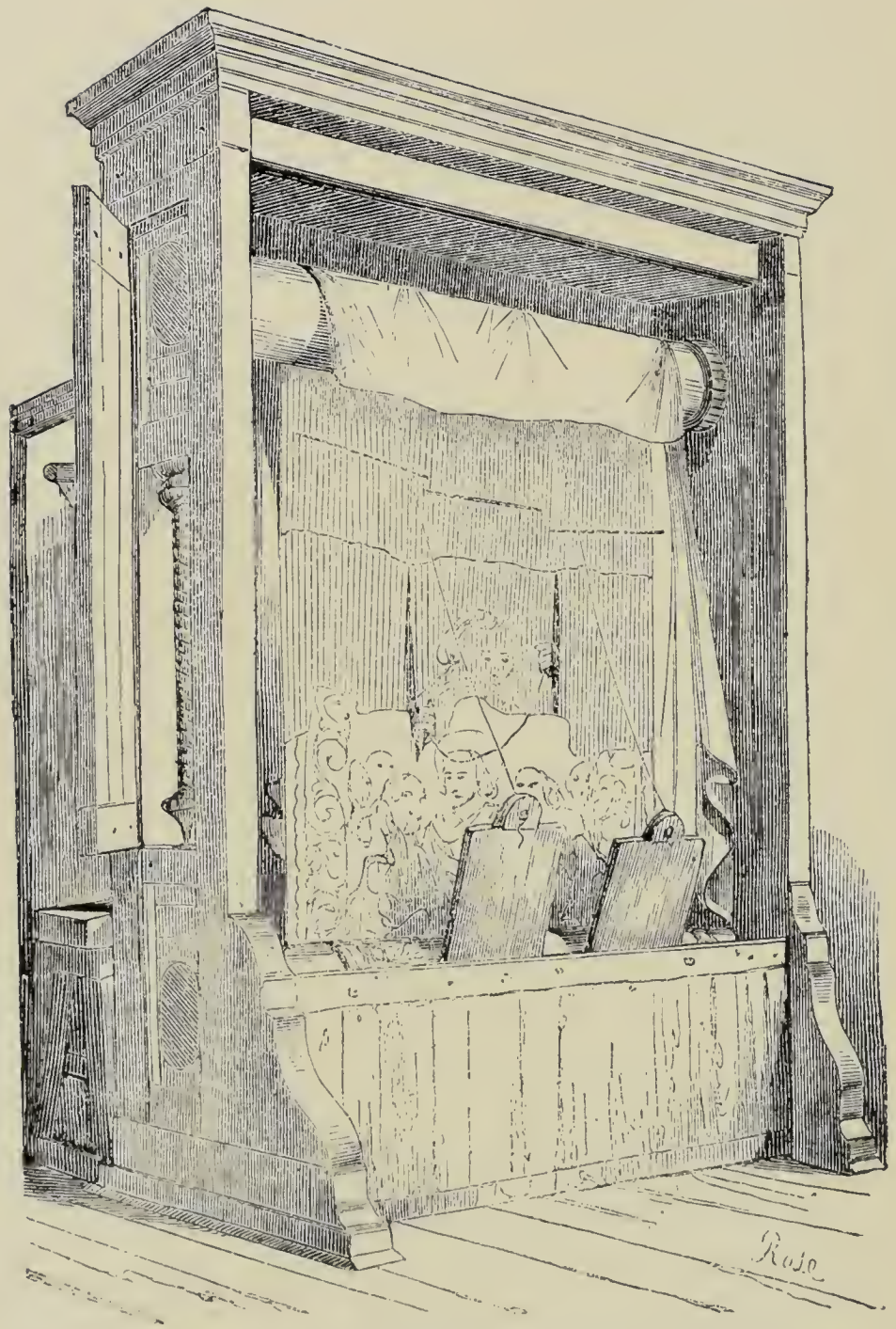


Fig. 10. Old Wooden High-Warp Loom at the Gobelins. Note the two Mirrors set at an angle in front; in these the Artist gets a glance at his finished Work.

bear washing. . . ." The wool industry made no less progress in Gaul than weaving and dyeing. From numerous passages in Juvenal and Martial it appears that the woolen clothing worn by the populace of Rome in the second century was woven in Gaul, particularly in the districts to-day known as *Arras*, Langres, Saintonge . . .

Flanders to-day is the land of dead cities, in which formerly thousands of busy toilers filled the air with the sound of humming, rattling looms,—except when the workers, as a sort of holiday, were indulging in their favorite amusement of battling with the workers of some neighboring city; it was no play battling either. There were 200,000 "Tapitewevers" in Ypres in 1342, and a quarter as many in Louvain forty years later, while in Ghent the weavers occupied twenty-seven squares. One great advantage the Flemings enjoyed was the privilege of importing English wool which was far and away the best. Of Arras, now French, we have already seen something; its tapestry prosperity ended at the death of its powerful protector, Charles the Bold (1477), upon which not altogether sad event Louis XI of France, a great king but a most unpleasant one, claimed busy Arras and took it. The freedom-loving burghers resented in rather a rude way Louis' intrusion, and the French king laid a very heavy hand on the bumptious little city; ruin followed and Brussels reigned in its stead. Whatever life was left in Flanders the bigoted Philip II of Spain and his detestable tool, the Duke of Alva, crushed out, leaving the land a desolation and the field clear for neighboring France, which immediately took full advantage of the opportunity offered and has retained it down to our own day.

The first Royal Manufactory in France was established at Fontainebleau by King Francis I, 1533; this was intended principally for making the decorations for the great palace which many of you are no doubt familiar with, and which this art-loving king was then spending more money on than the country could afford. We have full accounts of these works from 1535 to 1540, in which the names of fifteen master tapisers are given; these received from twenty to thirty dollars a month (say $160 to $240 of to-day). Flemish tapisers, then unrivaled, were imported for all the great French works, and were given most valuable privileges; the masters were ennobled, no mean advantage in those days; no foreign tapestry was allowed to enter the country and, to the Flemings, most important of all, they were allowed to

brew their own beer and to drink just as much of it as they were able to.

Henry II (killed in a tournament 1559) continued the good work and founded a factory where the present church of the Trinity now stands in Paris. Then came the "Wars of Religion" when everything useful disappeared. Henry IV (assassinated 1610) planted mulberry trees, introduced the silk-worm, and thus founded the world-famed manufactories of Lyons. Henry richly deserved the title of the "Great" for the good he did during his reign, but the title was most inappropriate to him physically, as he was a very small man and had to be helped onto his horse. He was a famous soldier and so inured to camps that he brought some of their peculiarities into home life, which his queen, Marie de Médicis, partially neutralized by a generous use of perfumes and by opening all the windows when Henry entered the room. Sully, the king's great minister, was strongly opposed to all luxuries, but Henry declared, "I want each one of my peasantry to have a fowl in the pot every Sunday." In after years Henry's efforts bore fruit and the beautiful textiles in which France leads the world to-day are greatly due to him.

History tells us that in the fifteenth century a family named Gobelins came from Rheims and settled near Paris on the banks of a crystal pure stream, the Biévre. This is now in Paris and the stream has become a very Schuylkill for impurity. Gobelins discovered a scarlet dye, the beauty of which it is said was greatly due to the pure waters of the Biévre. Legend says that the devil taught Jehan Gobelins how to make this dye—scarlet is his favorite color, you know—and that when Gobelins, thanks to the waters of his stream, improved on this dye, the devil became jealous. Gobelins was seen one day to go to a well, a cloud of sulphurous smoke enveloped it, a piercing shriek was heard, but Jehan Gobelins never reappeared.

The family prospered, built a huge palace which their so-called friends nicknamed "La Follie Gobelins." In 1651 Antoine de Gobelins became Marquis de Brinvilliers and selected for his wife sweet little, blonde, blue-eyed, angel-like Marguerite d'Aubray, —had he but known it his ancestor at the well had a far better chance than he, for his lovely wife became the most famous poisoner of her day, possibly in history, and, apart from the pretty feminine failings, then condoned, confessed to killing her father, a couple of brothers, some children and many others, mere out-

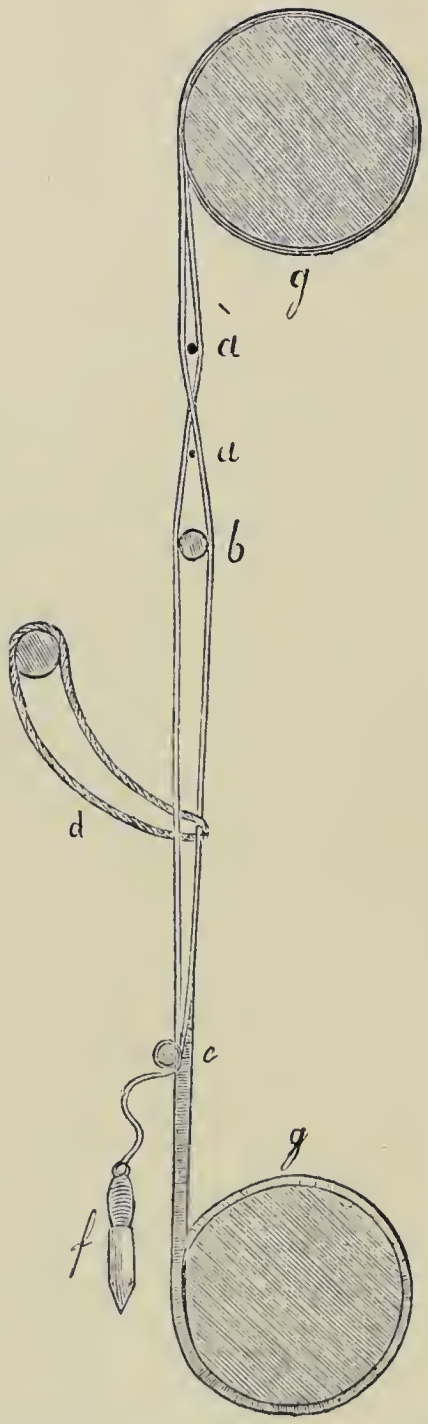



Fig. 11. Vertical Cross-section High-warp Tapestry Loom at the Gobelins. *g*, *g*, Upper and lower "ensouples," or cylinders. *a*, *a*, cords. *b*, a Rod or Glass Tube (about one inch in diam.) to keep the two sheets of the Warp separate. *d*, "Lisses," coats or harness, with rod, to pull the far sheet through the near.

siders. The doings of the fair Marguerite might be described by the poet,

> "If all the harm *that* woman has done
> Were put in a bundle and rolled into one,
> Earth would not hold it,
> The sky could not enfold it,
> It could not be lighted nor warmed by the sun;
> Such masses of evil
> Would puzzle the devil
> And keep him in fuel while Time's wheels run."
>
> —Lapsus Kalmi.

(Italics are mine.)

In 1662 the dye works of the Gobelins became the "Manufacture Royale des Meubles de la Couronne." In it were employed painters, tapestry makers of the high-warp loom, goldsmiths, founders, engravers, lapidaries, sculptors in wood, dyers and "all other necessary trades." An art school was immediately founded and the young aspirants for positions were taught to draw in the thorough manner in which they teach such things only in art-loving France. Much and irremedial harm was done at the Gobelins during the Great Revolution. A "Tree of Liberty" was set up in the court and a large number of carpets as well as tapestries with the human figure were ruthlessly destroyed by the mob. The tender-hearted Marat and similar monsters thought it derogatory to the "Rights of Man" to have other men walk on his effigy, at the same time on the Place de la Révolution these careful guardians of his rights were taking very considerable liberties with heads of both men and women. Pictured crowns, coronets and coats of arms doomed to destruction the most priceless tapestries, because they were said to be spotted with feudality; many of these were from ancient models long since lost and of which no record remains.

It is said that an American named Saddler tried to save five of them, offering quite generous prices for them, but his efforts were useless. Napoleon the Great put new life into the Gobelins; whenever he had an order to send home to France, he won a great victory and then dated his order or letter from the field of battle. None knew better than he how to stir the popular enthusiasm and bring forth shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" It is said that the Communards in 1871 burned more than six hundred and thirty-seven tapestries!

Before going further it might be well to endeavor to eonvey a vague idea to you of how the tapiser does his work. (Fig. 10.) The essential parts of the loom are two strong upright posts, wooden in the old looms, iron in the newer; at the top and also at the bottom is a large eylinder, each with a ratehet and pawl. (Figs. 11 and 12.) The tools required are a "broehe," mueh like the "reed" carried in the ordinary shuttle, a heavy sort of ivory eomb whose teeth penetrate between the warp threads and whose use is to beat or pack down the rather loose woof-threads until they form an unbroken surfaee and eompletely hide the warp; last, a pair of scissors and a sort of awl. (Fig. 13.) The first work is to attaeh the warp threads to the two eylinders so that the finished portion of the tapestry ean be rolled up, or rather rolled down, around the lower cylinder, thus keeping the portion of the work whieh is under way at the most eonvenient level. The next step is for the tapiser to draw, in india-ink, the design he is to reproduee, on the warp threads, which is by no means easy, and very different from drawing on eanvas or paper. The drawing being finished, the artist goes to the storeroom and selects his colors, eaeh delieate shade wound on a separate broehe; these form his palette and are kept in a basket beside him, within easy reaeh during his work. The model whieh he is to reproduee hangs within eonvenient distanee behind him, the part he is immediately working at being about on a level with his eyes. A beneh as long as the width of the spaee between the uprights eompletes the outfit.

Any attempt to deseribe the movements of the tapiser would be useless and confusing. Let me repeat that the proeess is practieally nothing more than glorified weaving, and the following utterly inadequate words, together with the euts, may suggest an idea of the work. All that the standing machinery is intended for is to retain the warp-threads in place, at the proper tension, and enable the tapiser to wind the finished work upon the lower eylinder. The warp itself is divided into two "sheets"; let us eall sheet No. 1 the uneven threads, *i. e.* 1, 3, 5, ete., and sheet No. 2, the even ones. The glass rods and the various horizontal eords in the plate are to keep the two sheets separate. The horizontal rods over the tapiser's head are ealled "eoat-staves"; the eords attaehed to them are the "lisses," "eoats," or "heddles"; at the opposite end from the coat-staves these eords are en-looped, attached by loops to the warp-strings of sheet No. 2. By pulling

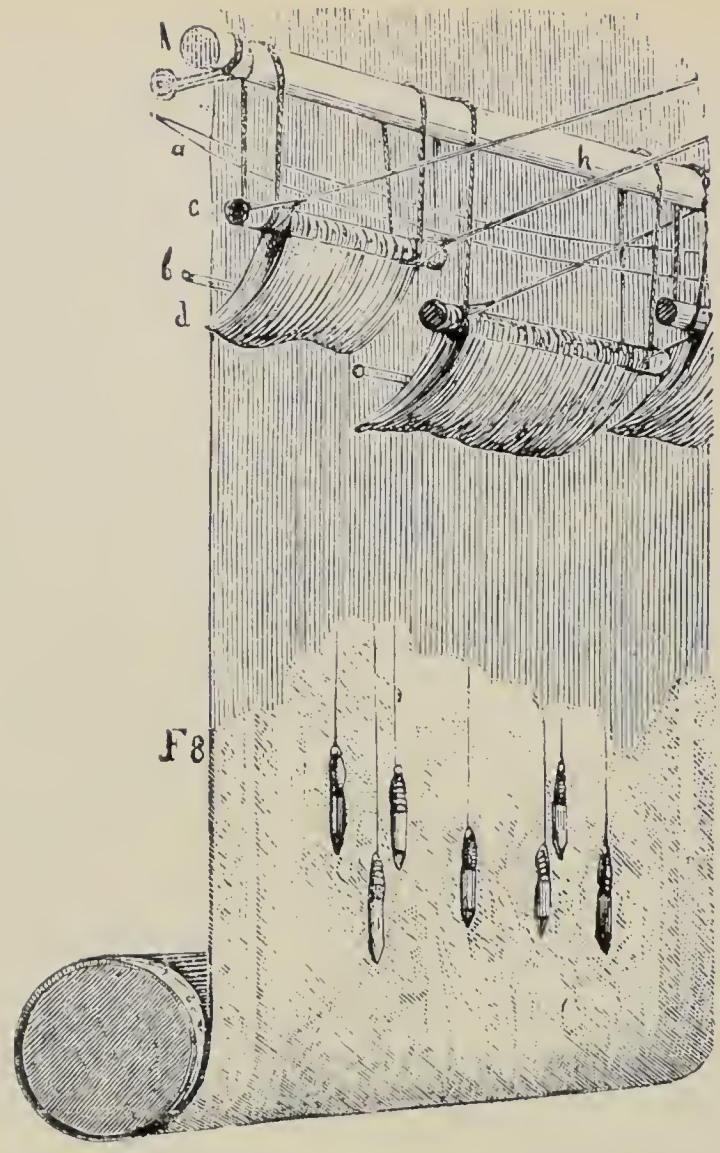



Fig. 12. Detail of the Back of a Tapestry, the Part towards the Artist.
The Gobelins.
Note the Bobbins or Broches hanging until again needed.

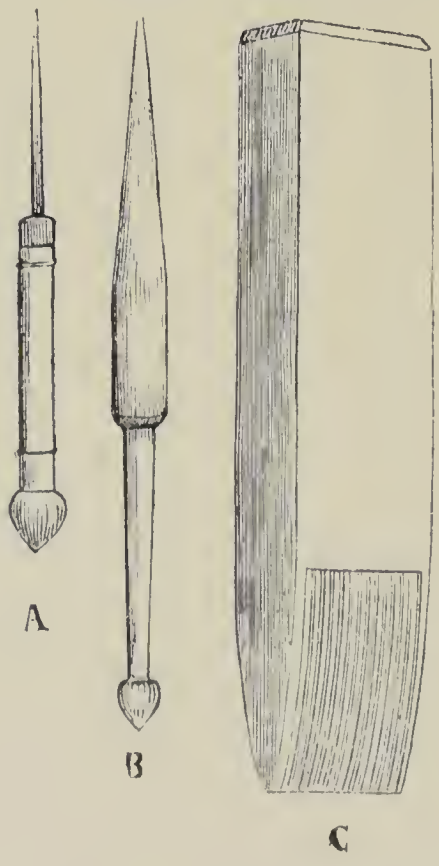



Fig. 13. Tapestry Tools at the Gobelins.
A, Awl. B Broche or Bobbin.
C, Ivory Hammer for packing down Woof.

Fig. 14. Large Northern Atelier. The Gobelins. Note the Modern Iron Loom in Front. Eight Looms in this Atelier.

forward the coat-stave the threads of sheet No. 2 are brought forward, between the alternate threads of sheet No. 1; on letting go the coat-stave the threads of sheet No. 2 resume their former position, thus obtaining the movements all are familiar with in the ordinary mechanical loom.

Let us suppose a three-inch square of blue is to be woven; the end of the blue woof thread wound on a broche is tied to the extreme left-hand warp thread close to the already finished work below it, the tapiser then passes the broche through to the ninetieth warp thread (there being thirty to the inch), between sheets 1 and 2; the coat-stave is then pulled, bringing sheet No. 2 to the front; with the right hand the broche is then passed back to warp-thread one, the starting point; the coat-stave is released and the warp threads resume their normal position; this forms one "duite" or course; after three or four duites the loose woof-threads are pushed down by the point of the broche, and when some twenty have been made they are hammered down with the ivory comb. Let me warn you that, while it takes time to describe these movements, the deft fingers of the experienced artist fly so rapidly that, even when perfectly familiar with each step, it is impossible to follow them. (Fig. 14.)

When the tapiser has finished for the moment with the blue, he makes a knot, so that the broche will not unwind, leaves it hanging for further use and continues with another shade. As you see, the tapiser is working at the back of the tapestry; to get a view of his finished picture he has either to get up and go round to the front, or, when he wishes to see some detail only, a small glass, like the little round shaving-glass formerly used, held in the hand, may be passed through the warp.

While we are at the Gobelins it were better to complete our round of that most fascinating of manufactories, especially if you could have had the privilege I enjoyed, of being guided by the late Director Monsieur Jules Guiffrey.

Next in importance to the "grand atelier" which we have just visited, the "atelier" par excellence, comes the "atelier de teinture," or dye-house. This we may not linger in; suffice it to say that it is intended as a model and no precautions are neglected to secure the impossible, permanent dyes, and second, what no other similar works can rival, exquisite delicacy and purity of color. Wools and silks for Beauvais are prepared here, and a certain amount of the products may be purchased by

private workers. In the superb tapestries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which, from a true decorative point of view, like the frescoes of Puvis de Chavannes, stand unrivaled, there were about three tones of each color. Charles Lebrun, director, died 1690, introduced ten colors of six tones each. Michel Eugène Chevreul, the great chemist who was cut off in 1889 at the early age of one hundred and three, inundated the Gobelins with 14,420 shades! I examined, with M. Guiffrey, some of the color scales; it was impossible to detect any difference between adjoining tints, but between those, say five apart, with much care, and not unlikely some imagination, a slight difference seemed to be visible. M. Guiffrey said that he was trying to reduce the scale to ninety-five tints, and I do not doubt but that the present director, Monsieur Gustave Geoffroy, is working in the same direction.

One other atelier we must not omit to visit, for it is to be hoped that it will not long remain a part of the Gobelins unless it be greatly reformed; that is the "Savonnerie," or soap-factory, where they never make soap, but do make carpets, carpets whose extreme costliness is only equaled by their abnormal ugliness. (Fig. 15.) Designs of a hundred years ago, huge things of all sorts that make one feel as if walking along a rocky shore in Maine where the Atlantic has been frolicking with immense rocks. Fortunately the Oriental with his delicate feeling for harmony of color and design, has taught us many things. The only way to account for this curious survival amidst so artistic a nation as the French is their phenomenal conservatism. Many years ago a dried-up, weazen looking little old man reigned over France, and also founded the Gobelins; when hidden in his magnificently majestic robes, elevated on his high red heels, puffed out with his colossal vanity, he became Louis le Grand; "Le Roi Soleil" liked heavy furniture and heavy pattern carpets,—so they ought to be good enough for us. Another little king, but great ruler, grandfather of Louis XIV, Henry IV, founded this workshop for making carpets, "Point de Turquie," Turkey-stitch they called it. The atelier was first established in the huge palace of the Louvre, under Pierre Dupont, and where it was frequently visited by the king. Henry's not very prepossessing widow, Marie de Médicis, founded an asylum for children in a house on the banks of the Seine at Chaillot (now part of Paris); this house had been a soap-factory, whence "La Savonnerie." In 1627 one Pierre Lourdet, a graduate of the asylum,

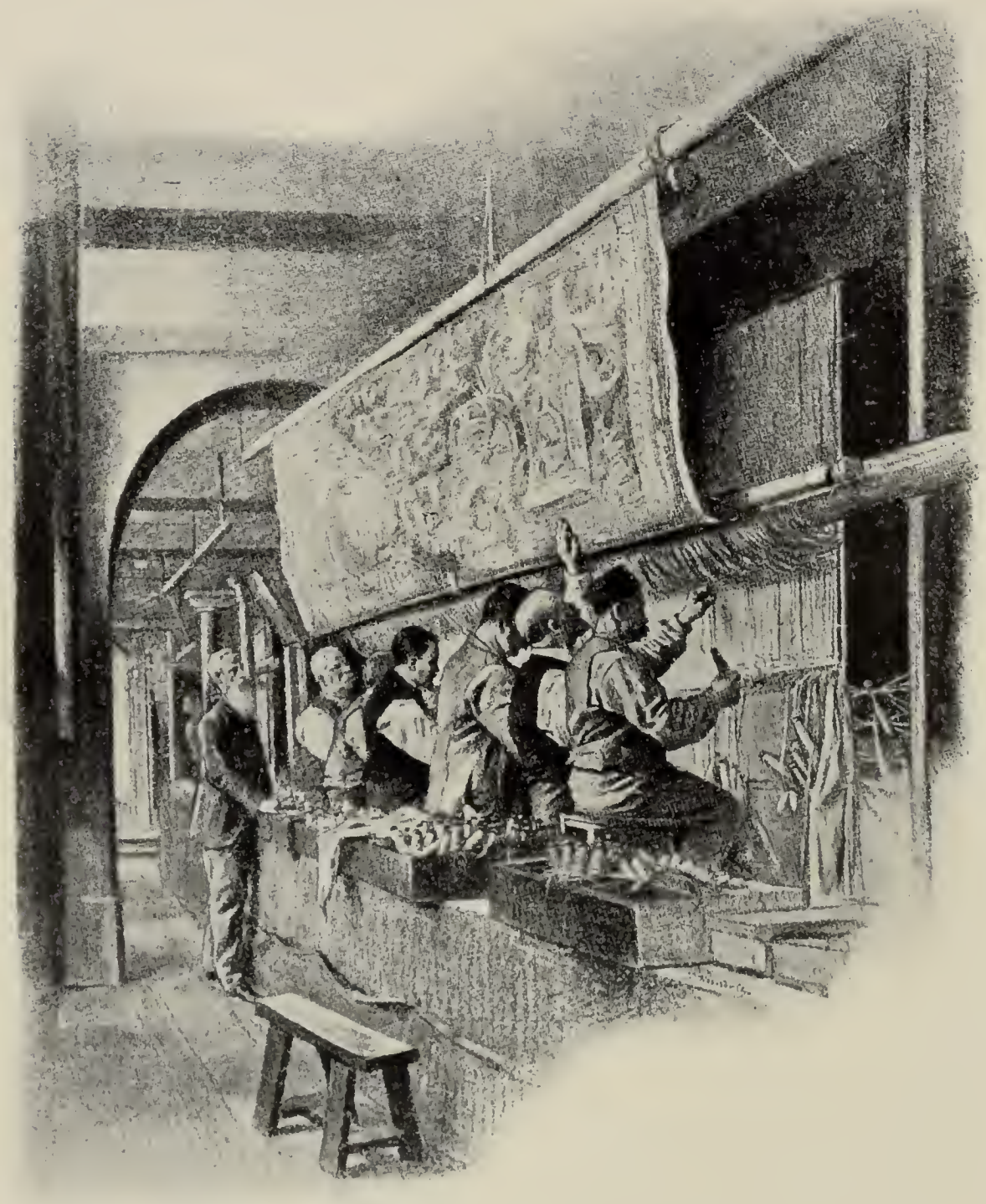


Fig. 15. Atelier of Carpet-making of the Savonnerie. The Gobelins.

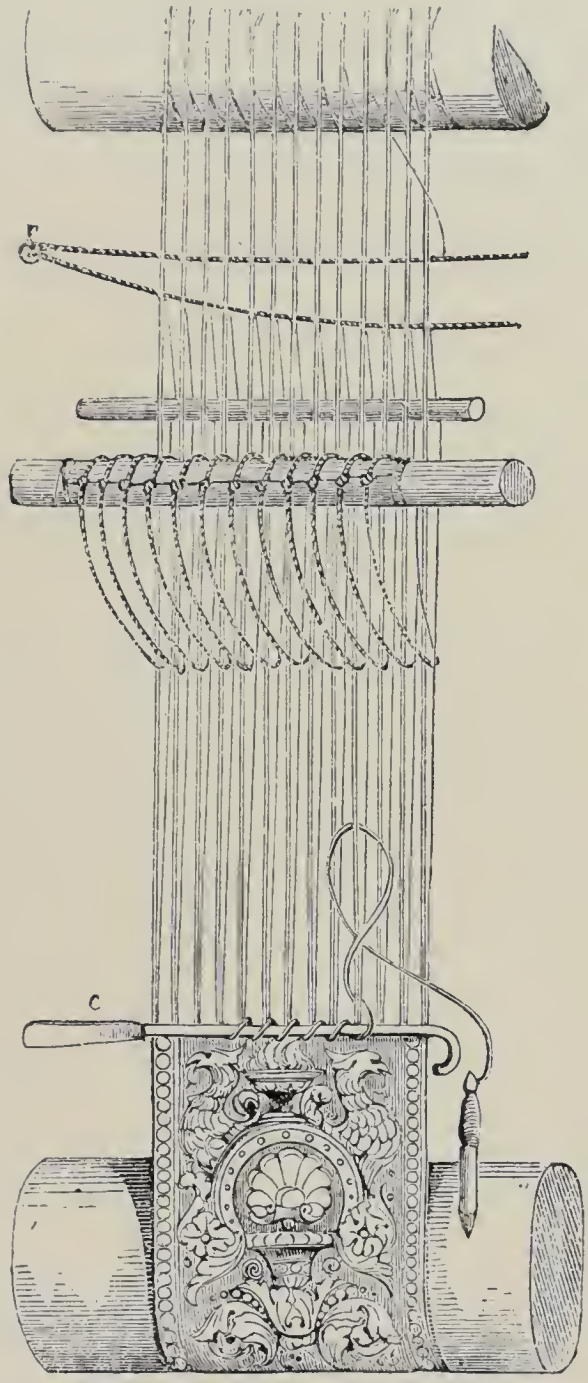



Fig. 16. Detail of Carpet Weaving at the Gobelins. Space between warp threads immensely exaggerated in order to show details. Note the wire (*c*) with the cutter at the end which forms the velvet.

secured "La Savonnerie" for the Turkey-stitch carpet works, with the privilege, or the contrary, of taking one hundred of the juvenile inmates as apprentices. The new manufactory flourished, and in 1828 the whole plant together with the workers was removed to the Gobelins. (Fig. 16.)

In this Turkey-stitch, the woof-string, which is much heavier than that used for tapestry, is knotted to each of the warp threads, the loops between the knots being passed over a thick wire held close against the work; a part of this wire is flattened out and has one cutting edge. After a certain number of knots have been made, the wire is drawn out, leaving the loops cut and standing like so much multi-colored grass. When such a row of knots has been completed from one side to the other, a strong linen woof-thread is thrown across, forming a complete course, or duite, thus making, with the warp, a very solid foundation and holding the little blades of wool firmly in place. The whole is then hammered down with a much heavier comb-like tool than that used for tapestry. Finally the little blades of wool are shorn, or mowed to an even height, with the scissors shown in the cut. The carpet makers have three great advantages: their model hangs just above them, easily to be seen; quite a number can work at the same piece; the front of the finished carpet is in plain view. In the middle of the last century there were fifty workmen in this department; now there are but twelve with two looms. (Fig. 17.)

After the tapiser has completed his share of the work it is sent to the "atelier de rentraiture," the repair shop. Whenever a vertical line, architectural, for example, occurs with a change of color, the background color in the woof ends at a certain warp-thread, the adjoining architectural color of course begins at the next thread, but as there is no connection between the two colors, and this may extend upwards for several inches or even feet, a vertical slit is the result; such slits, long or short, may be numerous; these are very carefully sewed together in the repair-shop andit is a delicate operation that often requires several weeks. The old tapestries belonging to the State are also sent here for repairs when necessary.

Let me add a few figures before we leave this most artistic of all manufactories, such a horrid word for the home of so great an art. In the Gobelins there are about forty-seven master-tapisers and five apprentices. The pay is little, but the honor is

great; at least, so the workers there seem to think, for it is not uncommon to find one generation after another taking up the work, to which fact much of the superior skill of these artists is no doubt due. A beginner receives about $240 a year, a foreman $1,000; in addition, the latter class has of right a small apartment and a garden, so dear to the French heart. After thirty years of continuous work they receive a pension of $320 a year. Out of hours they are permitted to make tapestry which they may dispose of to the trustful foreigner for their own benefit, and who can deny their right to call such tapestry "Gobelins?"

An experienced workman can finish two to four square inches a day, or, say, two to four square yards a year, greatly depending, of course, upon the subject, a nude figure being the most difficult, greatly on account of the modeling of the face and limbs; "verdure," foliage, with possibly a landscape, animals and birds, is the easiest. The human increment counts for much also, in the toiler,—in Paris that term is the grossest flattery, for the so-called "toiler" seldom exists over two hours without pausing for a meal and rest.

Modern Gobelins may be worth, for the main d'oeuvre,—say, $400 to $500 a square yard, though this sum must be at least doubled for material, plant, interest, etc. The value of ancient tapestry is limited by the amount that can be squeezed out of the covetous one; for an ordinary wall panel, to one who knows, $15,000 to $30,000; to the rich American who doesn't know, at least a hundred thousand dollars;—but the decoy in this latter case must be well paid; however, the business is exceptionally profitable and leaves little to be desired—except honesty.

The French Government, notedly generous in all that relates to art, but in some financial matters not yet freed from the customs of the eighteenth century shop-keeper, will permit the very rich Philistine from Oshkosh to order tapestry at the Gobelins for his palace on Fifth Avenue; there are a few simple conditions, but the gentleman from Oshkosh submits with humility, for is he not dealing in a devil-founded factory where kings and emperors have dealt? Conditions: Order just as much tapestry as you want, provided you pay for all of it with the order. You will find your choice of subjects somewhat restricted, but worst of all, if a government order or series of orders comes along after yours, the government has the right of way. You or your heirs will unquestionably get the tapestry,—barring revolutions, and

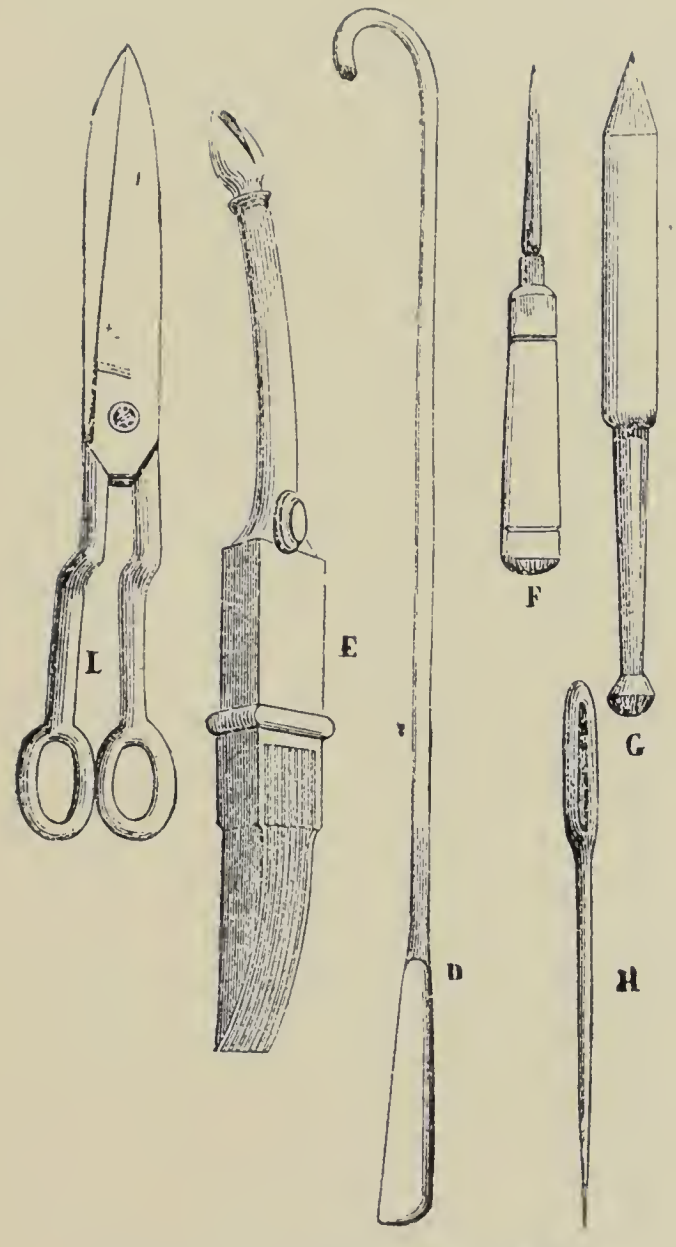



Fig. 17. Tools for Carpet-making.
La Savonnerie, at the Gobelins.

D, "Tranche-fil," wire with cutter at the end.
E, Comb, or Hammer for packing down the Warp.
G, Broche, or Bobbin.
F, Awl for pressing down the Woof.
H, Needle for repairs.
L, Scissors for trimming or shearing the upright woof-threads, or velvet, after being cut by "D."

the chances are all in favor if the tapestry be ordered in early infancy,—and paid for, appearing, together with many extra charges, before senility destroys one's memory of the long-forgotten order.

Beauvais is, if you are able to catch any but the slowest of trains, about an hour north of Paris; it stands somewhat in the position of a very important annex to the Gobelins. Its successful life began, under Philippe Behacle, in 1684. The advantages of the low-warp looms which are used here are that the warp sheets are worked by treadles, leaving the two hands of the tapiser free to manipulate the woof; in consequence the work gains in rapidity. The disadvantages were formerly that as the tapiser leaned over his work his model had to be placed beneath the warp, could not be so plainly seen, and as the space was limited the model, often of great value, had to be cut into strips; even more inconvenient, as the tapestry and the model faced each other, the entire design on the former had to be reversed, as an etcher is forced to do; then too, it was almost impossible to get a front view during the progress of the work. These drawbacks, fortunately, have been almost entirely eliminated by various improvements. The Gobelins sent its last low-warp looms to Beauvais in 1828, when La Savonnerie became part of the former.

Much of the output of Beauvais is intended for furniture covering, such as the much prized chairs and sofas of the Louis XV and Louis XVI periods, also for screens, etc., so silk predominates, and the work is finer, requiring an increased number of warp-threads;—very roughly, the difference between Beauvais and the Gobelins might be compared to that between an easel picture and a fresco. It is often impossible to decide with certainty whether a piece has been done on the high or the low-warp loom, the artistic merits being so nearly equal. This question has been occasionally settled by finding a bit of hair that has been unintentionally worked into the tapestry, and that once formed part of the beard of some long-forgotten old Flemish weaver.

Aubusson, south of Paris, was once, as far as quantity of output was concerned, most prosperous, but as much of the work there was a sort of cottage industry, and careful gild supervision lacking, many pieces fell below the standard and could not be sold at the great marts. Aubusson was greatly influenced by the doctrines of Calvin, so when the cruel "Revocation of the Edict of Nantes" took effect (1685) its prosperity as a tapestry centre

ended; the well-known carpet industry of modern times has taken its place.

Germany, Spain and especially Italy, added greatly to the output of tapestry. That singularly interesting tapestry museum in Florence shows what excellent work was done in Italy, especially by the factories owned and operated by the great princely families. But my limit is reached and I dare not try your patience further than to glance at the not so well known English manufactory of Mortlake.

This was established in 1619 by Sir Francis Crane; his director and overseer was Philip de Maecht, whose initials, "P. D. M.," are frequently to be seen on Mortlake tapestry. The works in the beginning prospered greatly, but the death of Crane in 1636 was a fatal loss. This was followed by an almost equal misfortune, the custom of King Charles I, who in 1643 owed the works the sum of about $140,000 of to-day, which, needless to say, he had neither the chance nor the intention of repaying; to many others who were afflicted with the lust of loyalty of that day, Charles was even more expensive. One point, little known, is that the Puritans in 1657 paid off the last of the Royal indebtedness and declared Mortlake "a manufacture to be encouraged;" despite this unexpected assistance, the end came in 1703. Fifteen years later a jury of French experts was called upon to make an official report on the Mortlake tapestries, and declared that, while admiring the smooth texture resulting from the use of the unequaled English wool, they found the colors wanting in brilliancy, dull and muddy. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, offers an excellent opportunity for the study of Mortlake tapestry.

Some of the reasons why early tapestry, say shortly before and after the year 1500, is so much more decorative than later work is because the designs were taken from old miniatures in the sacred books or from drawings made with a pen and much faith—not omitting ink—in the scriptorium of some old monastery. The monkish artist left it to the weaver artist to enlarge, to color and to improve the design, so that the subject was thoroughly fitted to its purpose. The point of view was usually high, often showing the ground almost like an island, covered with a marvelous variety of flowers amid which quaint little animals and birds do impossible things; upon this the subject of the picture is posed, the whole floating in a background of color, the flat expanse of which is relieved from monotony by

being carefully, subtly broken up with delicate changes of tone, invisible to the eye of any but the initiated,—much like the painter Monet might treat a plain blue sky. Or a crowd may be posed as if looked down upon in an amphitheatre, the principal persons with scrolls issuing from their mouths, making themselves known and adding the agreeable variety of conversation to the art features.

With the advent of the sixteenth century the decorative quality began to decline. The models, notably such as the celebrated "Cartoons of Raphael," were furnished by the painter, who neither knew nor cared aught for the perhaps greater artist who was doomed to translate them into the glory of tapestry as best he could. The horizon line was lowered, sky effects were introduced which time and dirt have struggled unsuccessfully to improve, finally, the border or picture frame became a permanent and possibly a necessary addition. The long row of portraits in tapestry which ornament but scarcely add to the beauty of the Gallery of Apollo in the Louvre, show only too plainly the limitations of the weaver's art.

Tapestry cannot be imitated with any chance of deceiving even the Oshkosh gentleman already referred to, except in tapestry. Needless to say that the trade has tricks for brightening up the colors of their wares, as well as of adding parts that may be wanting; the former often inflicts permanent injury; the latter, like a careful restoration of a painting, may be so skilfully done and add so immensely to the beauty and effect of the piece, that it were unfair to speak evil of it. If you had watched this work of legitimate restoration, noted how in order to supply wanting parts each individual warp thread had to be carefully lengthened, and remember there are some thirty of them to the inch, so think what patience and skill that alone requires; then the birthplace of the tapestry, its age and subject have to be studied by experts so that the designs for the missing parts may be in perfect harmony with the original, then the design is woven into tapestry—not on a loom, that were impossible—the whole is fastened to a table and the weaving done with needle and thread by Italian girls who have been trained for their work.

The marks or signatures need little explanation beyond what the plate gives. Of course there are many more, but even when familiar with all of them experts frequently differ as to the birthplace of a tapestry, and the mark, if there was one, is always

placed upon the selvage, which is almost invariably the first part of the panel to be destroyed by time or wear. The "B" "B" with the shield, the mark of Brussels, is possibly the one most often seen and is easy to recognize; this came into use by order of the Emperor Charles V in 1528. The "P", or the Fleur-de-Lis, will be found on French work pretty far back, but the official mark now used at the Gobelins, the "G" impaled by an upright broche, was not adopted till 1889.

In closing, while thanking you for your patience, let me in self-defence congratulate you on all that you have escaped: the Jacquard loom, painted tapestries, Brussels tapestries, Kelmscott House, William Morris, Burne-Jones, the Raphael tapestries and technical details too numerous to mention.

# FUNDAMENTALS OF THE BUILDING ART.

By Dr. Warren P. Laird.

*(Read at the Meeting of the Society, December 19, 1910.)*

Mr. Henry James, in his charming and intimate account of a "Little Tour in France," alludes to architecture as the least personal of the arts. The architect does not agree with this. His art is indeed less responsive to the touch of human emotion than is poetry or music and less graphic than painting or sculpture in the portrayal of passion. But it is yet one of the most clearly personal of those means employed by man to put sentiment into tangible form and is an instrument of great power in the expression of thought or emotion. In the work of the architect can be manifested a wide range of feeling; from the free play of joyous fancy, as in Francis' Pavilion at Blois, to the fierce and warlike humor of the mediæval castle. It may show pride of power and strength, militant aggression or the sublimity of faith. No art is more potent in the expression of the highest and boldest of human conceptions; none is more a mirror and enduring proof of the quality of a civilization.

Also, this art is so personal that its productions declare their authorship. Any building of distinctive character, whether good or bad, bears the impress of its author's individuality. Thus it is possible, knowing an architect well, to identify his work. Also a building will indicate the degree of its owner's sensibility to beauty. In this respect a man's house may be either less or more than his castle, for it will surely betray his bad taste or sturdily defend him against the suspicion of it. This is because architecture is deeply personal and its range and power of expression very considerable.

It is to an examination of these qualities that I invite your attention with the desire of stating a few of the fundamentals on which the art is based. This I shall endeavor to do from the standpoint of the architect; of the creator rather than the analyst.

Architecture is by common consent grouped with the fine arts and its masterpieces are accorded high place among the supreme works of human genius. Regarded by many, and with justice, as the master art, it affords inspiration to the poet and orator;

priceless evidence to the historian and the ethnologist, and indispensable material for the study of æsthetics and the philosophy of civilization.

This is true testimony to its importance in the development of human culture, but it leads us unconsciously to look upon this great and wonderful art as a purely æsthetic thing; a quality somehow manifest only in the external appearance of a building, and having little relation to its construction or purpose. In other words, architecture is apt to impress us as a thing of the past; a quality inherent in the world's great monuments, but somehow beyond our reach unless we may, perchance, seize it by copying into our modern structures the forms or features of ancient buildings.

This attitude is fatal to a true understanding and a full enjoyment of the art. For we are thus led to regard it either in the light of archæology, pertaining only to the dead past, or of æsthetics with its equally cold and academic relation to the present.

On the contrary, architecture is to-day, and has been in each age, a living and creative art of intimate and vital relation to contemporary life. Very emphatically is it not an abstraction or a thing of occult mystery. This is because it owes its existence to those human needs and impulses which call buildings into being and give them character. And in this character lies their architectural quality.

The building art, therefore, is broad and comprehensive in its nature, but its fundamental principles are few and simple.

Many definitions have been given to architecture, but all associate the idea of beauty with that of building. It is of course more than mere building, but so also is engineering, which may be defined as construction, seeking a maximum of efficiency at a minimum of cost, making its purpose purely materialistic, its destiny one of service alone.

Architecture, however, while it involves construction, both economical and efficient, and although it is dedicated to service, usually practical, is always influenced by considerations of sentiment. Wherefore it has the three inherent properties of stability, utility and beauty. Let us consider these fundamentals in order.

First, stability is of its very essence. The fabric must endure; age enhances its dignity and proves its quality. To insure this it must resist the elements, withstand disintegration under fire or earthquake and endure the severities of use. It is the

art of *building;* of the assembling of materials into forms of strength and of fitness, each for its special purpose. It deals with material elements; stone, wood, steel and brick; things of gross weight and of great yet circumscribed strength. Whether in the soaring dome of St. Peter's, the vaults of a Roman bath or the airy grace of a Gothic spire, every ounce of the countless tons of material must be supported and their pressures and strains carried safely to the foundations in mother earth. Cold science rules here, and yet the structure is conceived in the love of beauty and achieves it in every line. Sentiment is the master, science the servant. And science is of the very essence of the result, for how little of dignity or nobility or of any quality worthy our admiration is left to a building whose construction is inadequate or a sham!

Then, also, stability gives to a building a certain element of character which has nothing to do with science or pure engineering on the one hand and yet on the other is independent of the elements of beauty. We feel this whether it be in the gigantic strength of Karnak, the mass of the Colosseum, so like the very hills, or the daring yet certain thrust and counter-thrust of a Gothic fabric.

This quality of stability is the expression of power in architecture.

In the second place, the building must serve the purpose which calls it into being. This element we call utility or convenience. It is not the product of mere invention or mechanical skill exercised independently of the architect's other acts, and subordinate to them, for it largely controls the æsthetic character of the building. In the beginning, when in the mind of the designer the building is yet without form and void, its construction is already predestined and the elements which will enclose its spaces are few and well known; the wall and the roof, the pier and column, arch and vault, beam and truss. But the kind and character of the enclosed spaces and of their assembled mass is unknown and must be discovered. The working out of this problem involves both the interior and exterior of the building considered as a single conception. It means the shaping and grouping of all parts into a unified whole, each apartment or space being so formed and equipped as to meet its individual requirements and so related to each other part that all will serve one central purpose. This requires the creating of one organism with many functions.

The development of this is the architect's chief labor, yet it

is most apt to be overlooked in a judgment of his work. The contents or internal organism of a building are taken for granted quite as are those of the plant or animal form whose anatomical frame and its outer covering attract our interest to the exclusion of the organs which they protect and upon which they depend for their very existence.

Thus upon entering a building the attention is drawn to the decoration and contents of the individual rooms, whereas these have formed only the final and least difficult phases of the architect's work. The real problem has been to produce a general scheme or arrangement of parts which should meet the practical requirements of the building in a form at once beautiful and well constructed.

If, then, these practical requirements are known to the observer, something of the difficulty of their solution is understood and its success better appreciated. Thus it is realized that the designer of the building has worked under limitations, perhaps of great severity. He has been restricted as to cost, the peculiarities of site and climate and perchance of the client as well; he can use only those structural forms of known stability and economy and has not a wide range of choice in the selection of materials either as to their practical or æsthetic properties. Under these conditions he must produce a building which will meet, with the greatest possible utility, the practical uses for which it is intended.

These demands on the one hand and restrictions on the other would seem to afford an ample test of the architect's creative ability. But his dilemma has more than two horns, for he must also achieve beauty. This he cannot secure by the addition of more ornament after the rest of the problem is solved, for beauty must be wrought into the very structure of the building. Every part and the grouping of all must be conceived with regard to it.

And right here enters a factor essential to the highest architectural quality; that of consistency of form to purpose. This, in the study of the design, requires careful attention, not alone to the actual form of the parts, but to their shape, size, equipment and position as demanded by the uses which they will serve. To meet these requirements will yield good proportion in respect to the use of the building, and this is one of the prime virtues of good architecture, for a building may have perfect harmony of form in an æsthetic sense, but bad proportion in respect to its uses. It thus shows good decorative but bad plan composition.

Thus the architect works out the whole internal economy of the structure into an organism not only practical in purpose but of such a character that it can be naturally expressed in terms of beauty. This second quality of architecture we may call its logic.

The cause of beauty, the third fundamental, requires no pleading, for it is universally acknowledged as essential. Indeed, it seems to be regarded as the very essence of the art; not merely the Hamlet in the play, without whom all its meaning is gone, but the very play itself. This impression exists perhaps because pure beauty, having so much to do with the external aspects of a building, is the most obvious or strikingly evident thing about it.

It is hardly possible at this time to exploit the question of what constitutes absolute or pure beauty in a structure, but we may state one point of interest. Architecture, like the arts of painting and poetry, has its grammar, its own limitations of action, its mode of expression. And these factors in each of these arts compel observance at the penalty of failure, no work of art being successful if it be not at least correct. But if it stop here, it is but partially successful and stands on the lower plane of the commonplace. It may have grammar without style, style without grace or charm, charm without the higher spiritual significance of great art.

To return then to the general consideration of beauty, we may say that in its pure or abstract form it is only one of the phases of this aspect of architecture. Yielding, as it does, graces of line and harmonies of form and color, it is responsible for much of the charm which attracts us, but it does not reveal the deeper qualities, the nobler undertones of the symphony. These lie in the significance of the building; in its expression of purpose and the underlying proportions which control the destiny of the fabric and determine its real value as a work of art. These qualities are to be found in the general nature of the structure; in what we may call its anatomy; in the way it is organized and constructed; in its "power" and "logic."

The expression of these qualities or their outward manifestation may be regarded as giving the building the character commonly known as beauty. This will consist in the expression of two things: the first of the functions of the building; the second of its sentiment. Under the latter head we may group such attributes as harmony of form and color, purity of line, appropriateness of

ornament and the intangible something which gives the building its sentiment. But the expression of function is also necessary; that is to say, the outward evidence of the internal organism. This should be such that the building easily and naturally declares itself to the observer, making clear its purpose,—in short, telling its story. This is done by a frank recognition of internal arrangements; by emphasizing structural lines rather than ignoring or concealing them. The sum total of these qualities is shown by the character of the building. This in all great work is, first of all, one of sincerity. With this there may be found dignity or playfulness; religious feeling or intellectual calm, the assertion of power and authority or the evidence of purely commercial or domestic character. And the character and sentiment of a building is its highest beauty; the final flowering of the forces that have produced it. The element of beauty, therefore, is something more than skin deep, something not to be produced by a treatment of surfaces; on the contrary, it has root in every consideration vital to the building.

Turning now from a statement of the fundamentals, may we for a moment examine their bearing on every-day conditions? It is quite possible to understand and enjoy architecture without making a technical study of it if only the fundamentals are borne in mind and certain errors of judgment are avoided. These errors seem to be of two kinds.

The first, and most general, is that architecture consists simply in making a building ornamental or that it has to do with the purely decorative or superficial aspect of a structure, whose other properties, it is thought, lie entirely outside the province of art, being wholly practical. Thus, the man in the street regards the "architecture" of a building as its decorations, added at so much per foot; justified as a concession to beauty if they can be afforded, but after all merely an accessory to the thing of real moment,—the building itself.

The other view is that of the man to whom education and opportunity have revealed the glory of old-world architecture with its eloquent testimony of the past. This he feels, and rightly feels, is real architecture. He is impressed by some subtle quality which stamps the building as a work of art, an achievement of human genius, and this quality is felt whether the dominant note in the building be one of religious aspiration or serene power;

of sublimity, or splendor, or pure loveliness. In the presence of these monuments one is impelled to believe that

> "Earth proudly wears the Parthenon
> As the best gem upon her zone,"

and with Ruskin, that Amiens was "built by God and man; by the stars in their courses and the nations."

Thus the world's masterpieces impress with wonder and delight those who are by taste and education prepared for their appeal. And this impress naturally forms a vehicle of judgment in all incidents where architecture is concerned.

But here arises the error of believing that the reproduction of an ancient masterpiece, or of its large or significant parts, in a new building, assures in that degree, to that building, the quality of good architecture. Nothing could be further from the truth. The original is good because conceived and executed for a definite purpose, its every part having been influenced by and adapted to that purpose. To take such a building or any part of it, and adapt it to different uses either ruins the copy in the change or renders it, if unchanged, a grotesque and meaningless thing.

No, architecture is not to be achieved either by decorating a structure or by warping it into an imitation of something else. It is the logical expression of a definite use and a certain sentiment in the form of good building. If a structure is poorly put together or badly arranged, its architecture is as much at fault as if it displays ugly ornament or discordant color. There may be architecture absolutely without ornament, and in its noblest aspect it is not dependent upon that element. But if a building is well built, conveniently arranged and executed with beauty of form and color, then it is worthy the name of architecture, whether or not it achieves that special success and distinction which marks the world's greatest masterpieces in this greatest of the arts.

# GEORGE CRUIKSHANK.

By John Thomson, M.A.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society, February 20, 1911.*)

To formulate an address upon George Cruikshank has proved by no means an easy task. He was an artist and caricaturist and a great book illustrator, and in almost every particular an odd man and difficult to work with. He was born in 1792 and had but scant school teaching. His desire was to follow the sea, but his mother was opposed to this doing this and his father, Isaac, gave him some lessons in art "for which he already exhibited an aptitude."

In the "Dictionary of National Biography" we are told that in the Cruikshank collection at the Westminster Aquarium are a number of early attempts by him when he was between eight and eleven years of age and that he was paid for one of these which he drew and etched when about twelve. He was to a large extent a self-made, not a trained artist. I will not pretend to give a statement of his work in detail nor altogether in a chronological order.

He published a good many illustrations taking an adverse view of Napoleon I, giving some of them the disrespectful titles of "Little Boney's Last Kick," "Little Boney gone to Pot," "Snuffing out Boney," "Broken Gingerbread," "Otium cum Dignitate (Ease with Dignity) or a View of Elba." Other political efforts of his are very much more known dealing with Johanna Southcott and her impostures, the troubles of the Princess Charlotte, the daughter of George IV and Queen Caroline, and the unhappy disagreements between the Regent, afterwards George IV and Queen Caroline, which culminated in the celebrated Cruikshank effort "The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder."

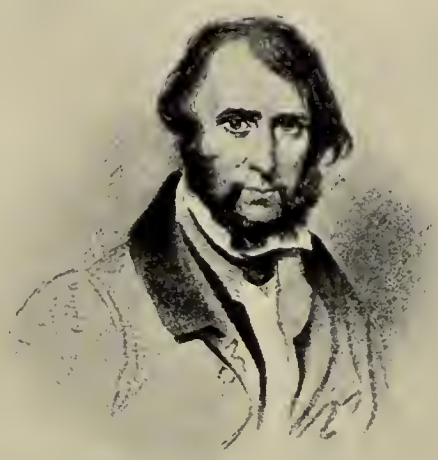
George Cruikshank achieved very general celebrity and popularity as a political caricaturist by his illustrations to the pamphlets of William Hone. Two of these publications that are best known are "The Political House that Jack Built" and the "Political Showman at Home." Hone was a writer and bookseller. He was a controversialist of remarkable force. He was thrice prosecuted for his papers against the government and each time acquitted

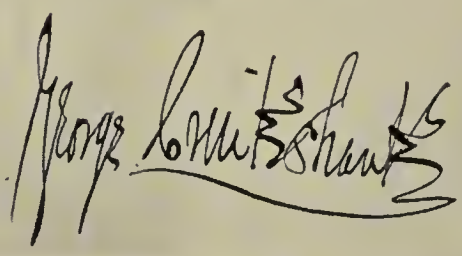
(though he ought not so to have been, I say) and Lord Ellenborough presided at the second and third trials and Lord Campbell, in his "Lives of the Lord Justices," says that Lord Ellenborough "was killed by Hone's trial, and he certainly never held up in public after."

At the end of Thomas Wright's "History of Caricature and Grotesque" is given a short account of George Cruikshank, whom he criticises as having raised caricature in art to perhaps the highest degree of excellence it has reached.

He has been frequently compared with Hogarth, and if any comment or useful comparison between the two can be made, it would probably be as Mr. Wright says, that he possessed even to a greater degree than Hogarth the admirable talent of filling a picture with an immense number of figures, every one playing a part of the story, "without which, however minute, the whole picture would seem to us incomplete." George Augustus Sala, whilst estimating Cruikshank very highly, maintained that he never equaled Hogarth. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* (N. S. Vol. XX, pp. 544–568), Sala gives a "Life Memory" of Cruikshank and it is worth quoting in reference to George Cruikshank's claim to have written "Oliver Twist" and "Jack Sheppard." Sala points out how the types of Sikes, Fagin, Charley Bates and the Artful Dodger had been studied by Cruikshank in his rambles in the lower strata of London and that counterparts of Nancy, Bumble and the others may be traced in any of George Cruikshank's etchings and wood drawings between 1825 and 1830. He had studied the criminal classes for more than a quarter of a century. Sala says that Cruikshank was a lithe, well set-up, broad-shouldered little fellow, strong and tenacious as a bulldog and nimble as a squirrel, with a hawk nose, a broad forehead, noticeable gray eyes and black hair and whiskers; that he dressed habitually in a blue swallow-tail coat, a buff waistcoat, gray pantaloons and hessian boots with tassels; that he was not averse from using his fists in an up-and-down tussle; that he danced hornpipes, jigs and reels to perfection; that he was married and lived in Myddelton Terrace, Pentonville; that he worked desperately hard and had so been working from the time he was a mere boy, when his only playthings had been copperplates and ground "dabbers" and bordering wax; and that he was an enthusiastic admirer of the Royal Navy and its Jack Tars.

George hated the French in general, and the Emperor Napo-





18

19

Figs. 18 and 19. George Cruikshank.

leon I in particular, with an intensity of animosity which might have won applause from Dr. Johnson; that in politics he was an odd combination of an extreme Radical and a violent Tory (the Tory predominating), and that, although his services were in constant demand in the publishing world, he was, as a rule, very poorly paid. Sala relates that for an illustrative etching on a plate octavo size he never received more than twenty-five, and had been paid as low as ten pounds, and that he had often drawn a charming little vignette on wood for a guinea. By the "Bottle" he must have realized a large sum of money; still, even when he was at his noontide of capacity and celebrity, it is doubtful if his average income, taking the bad years with the good, exceeded six hundred pounds a year.

Perhaps the most interesting way for us to discuss him is to start by getting an idea of his physical appearance and then compare him with the physical appearance of some of those with whom he is most intimately related and ascertain how he co-operated or failed to co-operate with his co-workers.

G. A. Sala, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, gives also an interesting account of the real places introduced by George Cruikshank in his illustrations of Jack Sheppard, but denies that the house popularly identified as the Carpenter's house in which Jack carved his name on the beam, was in Wych Street.

The first picture (Fig. 18) I should like to show is a portrait of Cruikshank from a lithograph by Baugniet. This is taken from F. G. Kitton's book entitled, "Dickens and his Illustrators," published in 1899. This portrait is a reproduction of a proof impression showing the retouching by Cruikshank himself. My slide is taken from a collotype by James Hyatt and as you see by the signature of Baugniet. it was done in 1843, when Cruikshank was fifty-one years of age. It is interesting also as having the signature of the artist with a considerable flourish by way of addition, he being in the use of these big flourishes not unlike his celebrated co-worker, Charles Dickens.

A more finished portrait of Cruikshank may well be shown. This forms the frontispiece to Frederic G. Stephens' Memoir, from an engraving by Frank Stone, R.A. The variations between Baugniet's lithograph and Stone's portrait are not very great. Of course the hair is differently arranged and the collar and stock around the neck are different. They appear, however, to have been taken very much about the same time.

We all know that in middle life Cruikshank became a partisan of the teetotal movement almost to the point of insanity and here a real contrast between the limits of Cruikshank and Hogarth forces itself on our attention.

The serial works of Hogarth, such as his "Marriage à la Mode" and "The Harlot's Progress," show a concentration of thought and development of the story far beyond Cruikshank's three series entitled "The Bottle," "The Drunkard's Children" and "The Worship of Bacchus."

In connection with this thought, I want to call your attention to a portrait of Cruikshank by Daniel Maclise, celebrated for his "Gallery of Literary Characters."

Here we have (Maclise tells us) "a sketcher sketched (Fig. 19); and as is fit, he is sketched sketching. Here is George Cruikshank—the George Cruikshank—seated upon the head of a barrel, catching inspiration from the scenes presented to him in a pot-house, and consigning the ideas of the moment to immortality on the crown of his hat."

Maclise tells us that this great caricaturist was shocked at the evil fate which consigned him to drawing sketches and caricatures instead of letting him loose in his natural domain of epic or historical pictures.

Few men really know their right position in life. Liston always lamented that he could not appear in pathetic opera, but received overwhelming applause in Paul Pry, and simply an almost innumerable number of low comedy characters. Again, Charles Mathews, one of the greatest comedians of the world, lamented that a foolish public would not recognize his talent for tragedy, and, of course, examples like these could be multiplied *ad libitum.*

The most eminent of all Cruikshank's co-workers undoubtedly was Charles Dickens. Let us look at Charles Dickens at the age of twenty-seven as he was painted by Maclise.

This shows Dickens as he was almost immediately after his marriage on April 2, 1836, which event had taken place, as you all may remember, immediately after the publication of No. 1 of the "Pickwick Papers."

Maclise published his "Portrait Gallery" mostly under the *nom de plume* of Croquis.

The first to illustrate Dickens' "Pickwick" was Robert Seymour, who committed suicide after furnishing drawings for two numbers.

Then followed Robert W. Buss, who was not successful as an illustrator, and his place was supplemented by Hablot K. Browne.

I show you a portrait of this artist, who is the best known of Dickens' illustrators. He illustrated ten of his principal works and was barely twenty-one when he was selected to illustrate "Pickwick" and was strongly congratulated by Thackeray, whose services had been declined.

He used sometimes to sign himself "H. K. B.," but generally "Phiz." Many did not realize that the two signatures were used by one man and it was not uncommon for some of the public to remark that Browne's work was better than Phiz's.

Cruikshank illustrated Dickens' "Sketches" which were published in book form in the spring of 1836 and afterwards "Oliver Twist" and the "Lamplighter's Story," and also the "Life of Grimaldi," but of this Dickens was editor only.

I have before intimated that Cruikshank was not an easy man to work with. He in several instances greatly exaggerated the part or share he had had in certain publications. It is, of course, very well known that soon after Dickens' death there appeared a story in the *Trans-Atlantic Journal*, "The Round Table," a letter in Shelton Mackenzie's Biography of Dickens, claiming for Cruikshank the practical authorship of "Oliver Twist." It is unnecessary to deal in detail with this claim, but in 1871 Cruikshank (Dickens having died in 1870) published a letter claiming that he had not at the time thought "it would be right to dictate too much to the writer of the story" and so various alterations were made as to the locale and details of the characters of Oliver Twist, and boldly claiming that he was "the originator of Oliver Twist, that all the principal characters were his and that he was much disappointed that Mr. Dickens had not fully carried out his (Cruikshank's) suggestions."

In 1872 he published a paper, "The Artist and the Author, a Statement of Facts," wherein he positively asserted that he was the real originator of Oliver Twist. He also stated that he was prepared to publish an explanation of the reason why he had not illustrated the whole of Dickens' writings, adding that this explanation would not at all redound to the novelist's credit.

He claimed that the greater part of the second volume of his "Sketches by Boz" were written from his hints and suggestions.

Considering that this claim was not brought forward for more than thirty years after the publication of the novel, the matter

would anyhow be very lame and there can be no doubt from the letters of Mr. Forster and others that Cruikshank's habit of exaggeration combined with his eagerness in over-estimating the effect of his work, led him (as Mr. Blanchard Jerrold remarks) "into injudicious statements or overstatements."

It is not necessary to deny Cruikshank's talent and cleverness even though we must entirely disbelieve and deny his suggestion that he really wrote "Oliver Twist."

Cruikshank had a happy knack of introducing himself and his friends in his drawings and in Chapter 19 in Dickens' "Sketches" entitled "Public Dinners," the novelist gives a description of the ceremonies pertaining to a banquet on behalf of the Indigent Orphans' Friends' Benevolent Institution, which "will sufficiently indicate the charity though the real title is a line or two longer, but never mind the rest."

Dickens gives an excellent account of the ceremony after the conclusion of the dinner when the stewards leave the room and presently return heading a procession of indigent orphans, boys and girls, who walk around the room courtesying and bowing and treading on each other's heels, and looking very much as if they would like a glass of wine perhaps.

I show this because in it you will find that Cruikshank and Dickens are both portrayed as stewards.

Before we leave Cruikshank's work for Dickens, I would like to show one or two of his most successful drawings for "Oliver Twist."

First I show the scene when Oliver turns on Noah Claypole and floors him. You remember, how, stung by Noah's insult to the memory of Oliver's mother, Oliver fells the cowardly lubber to the ground. Cruikshank has here drawn a splendid little fellow and Mrs. Sowerberry may or may not be as it is critically estimated "a gross caricature," but the whole work of the two boys and the kitchen is admirable. The illustration shows Cruikshank in fine form and deserves high praise.

Now by way of contrast to Cruikshank's great ability, let me show you Mahoney's drawing for the same scene.

The comparative feebleness of Mahoney's picture leads us readily to see where the strength and power of Cruikshank lay.

The strength of Cruikshank can hardly be more powerfully shown than by the drawing of Bill Sikes when he is fleeing for his

life after the murder of Nancy and makes up his mind that he would like to destroy his faithful dog.

It has been frequently remarked that a proof of Cruikshank's want of training in his art is shown by his unnatural drawings of trees. They are trees of course, but not such as we generally see, and Thackeray writes, "he was not happy in trees, yet he is very original, his trees being decidedly of his own make and composition, not imitated from any master."

In this drawing the skill shown in depicting Sikes and the dog is not sustained in the trees, especially the first and third counting from the left as you stand before it.

Much discussion arose over the studies for Fagin in the Condemned Cell and in Kitton's work there are interesting reproductions of some of the trial sketches for the Condemned Cell scene and you can see these at pages 22 and 24. Thirty odd years after the publication of "Oliver Twist" Cruikshank said at a public meeting, "Oliver Twist came out of my own head, I wanted Dickens to write me a work, but he did not do it in the way I wished. I assure you I went and made a sketch of the condemned cell many years before that work was published. I wanted a scene a few hours before strangulation, and Dickens said he did not like it, and I said he must have a Jew or a Christian in the cell. Dickens said, 'Do as you like,' and I put Fagin, the Jew, into the cell. Dickens behaved in an extraordinary way to me, and I believe it had a little effect on his mind. He was a most powerful opponent to Teetotalism, and he described us Teetotallers as 'old hogs.' "

The drawing of Traddles arguing and pleading for his friend, David Copperfield, before Miss Betsy Trotwood, David's aunt, and Mr. Dick, Miss Trotwood's protégé, imprints the facts of the story as told by the author in a remarkable way on the mind.

Micawber's valedictory, with Traddles and David amazed at the eloquence of Micawber and his ability to throw aside care and tears and lamentations at a moment's notice, and indulge in two or three glasses of punch in succession and then indulge in singing "Auld Lang Syne" as a preliminary to writing a despairing and suicide-threatening letter early the next morning, is a fine specimen of Cruikshank's skill.

As I cannot here show more slides from Dickens' works, let us look at the grand author as he was in 1870, the year of his death.

What a co-worker he was to an artist!

A little while ago in showing the picture of the Stewards, I adverted to Cruikshank's liking for introducing himself in his drawings. I show next Cruikshank and another of his co-workers, William Hone (Fig. 20) (described more fully at the beginning of this lecture), who wrote political tirades, failed several times as a bookseller, spent three years in prison for debt, but enveigled Cruikshank into providing an extraordinary series of cuts in which the political struggles of the day chiefly live in our memory.

This illustration was engraved on wood by a Miss Powell in close facsimile of the original and represents them sitting face to face, the artist with pencil and boxwood and the author and publisher with a pen. This appeared on the title page of "Facetiæ and Miscellanies," by William Hone, a collection and reissue of a number of his tracts published in 1820–21. It is reproduced in an article on Cruikshank by Russell Sturgis.

It has a motto "We twa hae paidlt."

I take from the same article a cover designed for four new comic songs composed by George Cooke and illustrated by George Cruikshank. (Fig. 21.) The composer, like an itinerant musician, is playing a flageolet, while the artist passes round the hat. This was executed when Cruikshank was fifty-seven years of age. You will not fail to notice the play upon the notes (excuse the joke) where George Cooke is favored with a musical signature *G. C*ooke and Cruikshank has his initials *G* for George and a lower *C* for Cruikshank.

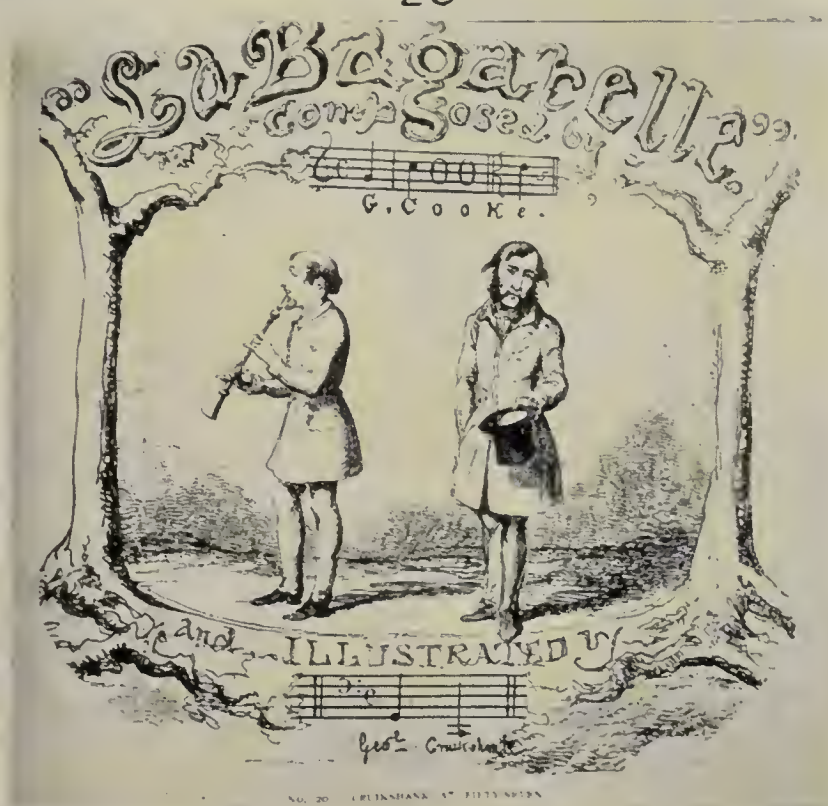
The versatility of Cruikshank is not so great as the (pardon the word) numerosity of his drawings. In Reid's "Catalogue" of his works, 5,265 works are catalogued; but to show the variety of the man, there are two pictures in his "Ingoldsby Legends" which I show in order to contrast his own drawings of one and the same scene at different times. The two pictures of the "Merchant of Venice" afford a good deal of subject for thought.

The poem tells us:

> "The Court is prepared, the Lawyers are met,
> The Judges all ranged, a terrible show!"

In the plate now on the sheet the whole scene lacks power and humor. Nothing less like the stern judges of Venice and Portia could well be imagined.

20




21

Fig. 20. The Satirists.
Fig. 21. Cruikshank at Fifty-seven.

Now contrast this with the picture from the same legend when Portia warns Shylock:

> "Slice away, then old fellow—but mind!
> if you spill
> One drop of his claret that's not in
> your bill,
> I'll hang you like Haman!—By Jingo,
> I will."

No wonder Shylock cried out:

> "Plesh ma heart! ish that law?"

It is perhaps a trite but very true remark that as time goes on and authors seek to describe early Victorian customs and manners, the writings of Dickens, Sir Walter Besant and others of their rank and genius will be a perfect mine of information, both as to odd costumes, old-fashioned customs, coach-travel, out-of-the-way inns and a hundred such like matters. Cruikshank is one of these men. Take, for instance, his picture entitled "Beating the Bounds." This custom was a survival in Protestant times of the ancient Catholic custom of processions on Rogation Days, the three days before Ascension or the fortieth day after Easter. We could talk for twenty minutes on this interesting matter. The Reformation did not abolish the processions, although they altered their character and transferred them to Ascension Day itself. They were intended to enforce the injunction "Cursed be he which translateth the Bounds and Dales of his neighbor." The religious sentiment gradually died out and sometimes the processions resembled a "blithesome steeplechase aspect."

If a canal had been cut through old boundaries, those who perambulated the parish had to cross it either by swimming or in boats and it would be easy to collect a long number of interesting stories about the ceremony. It was not unusual for boys in the procession to be whipped when the boundaries were reached to impress upon them the exact location. Other times they were bumped on the limits, but not only boys but strangers were frequently seized upon for the purpose.

The picture on the sheet shows a gentleman receiving very practical knowledge that he fell in the way of the procession. I remember seeing not a few "Beating the Bounds" ceremonies.

The procession was often composed of the Vicar, the Church Wardens and other officials, and two or three hundred boys.

The Beadles of which Dickens made so much fun, as for instance in his delineation of Mr. Bumble, are well brought out in the slide.

Another old custom is shown in the next picture. The anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, November 5, 1605, was long commemorated in a special service in the churches of England on that day, and in the Prayer Book of 1607 is a very quaint plate of Guy Fawkes preparing for the blowing up of the Houses of Parliament with the cheerful remark, supposed to come from his lips, "Rideo, I see and smile."

However, as we know, the plot failed, but even up to to-day on the assembly of a new Parliament, all the cellars of the Houses of Parliament are searched in remembrance of that day. Guy Fawkes Day became almost entirely abandoned to the juvenile population of England after the close of the first quarter of the last century.

The burning of Guy Fawkes in effigy was a ceremony which was much in vogue and it survived in its greatest form in Guilford, Surrey, and at Lewes in Sussex. A straw-stuffed figure of Guy Fawkes was carried on a palanquin, sometimes carried by boys and sometimes in the more dignified way of being escorted in a cart drawn by a donkey, and most of us will call to mind the poetical effusion with which the boys used to call:

"A penny, please; a penny, please,"

explaining their demand by the effusion:

"Remember, remember,
The fifth of November,
The Gunpowder treason and plot;
There is no reason
Why the Gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot!"

This plea was often worded as follows:

"Put your hand in your pocket
And give us some money,
To kindle our bonfire!"
Huzza! Huzza!"

22

23

24

Fig. 22. "Hush."
Fig. 23. Sir John Falstaff, Knight.
Fig. 24. Bank Restriction Note.

One favorite poetical effusion when George III was king ended with:

> "A stick and a stake, for King George's sake,
> A stick and a stump, for Guy Fawkes' rump!
> Holla boys! Holla boys! huzza-a-a."

This custom was brought over to America by the early colonists and in New York by a law passed in 1765 every minister was required on the 5th of November to preach a sermon in commemoration of Guy Fawkes and his gunpowder plot.

Another old custom much more followed in the breach than the observance was the use of hand-organs in churches. The Honorable Mrs. Gore in Bentley's "Miscellany" of 1843 (v. 14) gives a delightful account under the title of "Hush," of a village in Herts. The story covers nine pages of the magazine and is of course too long for quotation in full. (Fig. 22.)

One of the difficulties described arose when the organ of some church (a century old and fifty years out of order) had arrived at such an asthmatic pitch that decorous gravity could not be preserved when it was at work. To replace the old organ was too costly for the vicar and his villagers until the time came when as he said "thanks to the march of intellect and progress of civilization, the finest music extant was the result of machinery." Thereupon in vestry assembled and with the help of ladies in a committee, machinery *vs.* labor in the place of an organist carried the verdict and Messrs. Grindwell & Co. were deputed to provide an organ, and that was to be a self-playing one. Never had the church been crowded as it was on the holy Sabbath when the new organ was to be blowed. Before the sermon "four verses of the morning hymn" were duly announced to be sung. The parson was ready to admonish his congregation, the Psalm books were closed, the voices of the children ceased, but so did not the strains of the organ. Click was heard and the organ continued its mechanical industry while another verse was played. The parson thought "the blower is too energetic, but still I will tell him next Sabbath to stop with the singing." The conclusion of the verse was reached, but the organ resumed also once, twice and again, and the sad news reached the parson that the organ had got the best of the occasion. The organ would not stop even when it had repeated the hymn the regulation twelve times, and click, click went the organ and at the end of the morning

hymn it started on the evening hymn and twelve verses of that beautiful strain were played, but click, click went the organ and it is supposed would have gone on with the morning and evening hymns consecutively forever. There was nothing to be done but to carry it into the churchyard. The strains could be heard through the windows and the parson's voice could not be heard for the music and the giggles of the amused and naughty girls. As the congregation dispersed for their midday meal, click went the organ and whether it was the morning hymn or the evening hymn nobody knows.

The flight to Gretna Green in the interest of couples who desired very earnestly to be married against the will of their parents is a very old story, but a very true one, whether sad or joyous. A couple having started for Gretna Green, an irate father determined to pursue the couple and stop the marriage, so he asked Joey Duddle, the well-known postilion, to start in pursuit. Joey was very deaf, having caught a cold through sleeping one night without his nightcap. He started in pursuit and drove and rode along with perfect contentment, and nothing could equal Joey's astonishment when he drew up at the inn door to change horses to find that he had left the pursuing party far behind, who had shouted and screamed after Joey without being heard.

The picture of the Deaf Postilion now on the sheet is frequently quoted as one of Cruikshank's most able sketches, inasmuch as the story of the postilion and his deafness is so absolutely told by the lines of the picture that no letter press is needed to explain what happened.

In William Makepeace Thackeray's unequaled critical review of George Cruikshank, printed in the *Westminster Review* for June, 1840, particular attention is called to the skilful picture of "Term Time," one of Cruikshank's seven illustrations of Time. We are familiar with the story of the barrister who, having completed a case, handed to each of two unfortunate litigants a shell of an oyster, having taken the oyster as his own fee, remarking, "Gentlemen, it was a very fine oyster; the court awards you a shell each."

It would not have occurred to me that this was a very particular specimen of Cruikshank's skill, but Thackeray thought otherwise and each of us can criticize it for ourselves.

To show how difficult a man Cruikshank was to work with, listen to this:

It is related of our artist that he had entered into arrangements to furnish a certain number of illustrations for *Bentley's Magazine*, but he tired of the job and did not know how to get out of his contract; yet where there is a will there is a way, and for the number Vol. 14, published in 1843, page 393, by way of illustrating a certain article entitled "Regular Habits," he supplied a drawing now put on the sheet.

It was so absurdly bad that he and his publishers had a very delightful and excellent quarrel, with the result that the contract was canceled, and by his audaciously bad drawing and bad illustration he succeeded in ridding himself of a task which had become tiresome to him and tedious.

As a specimen of his real talent, I show you three of his pictures in connection with Sir John Falstaff. (Fig. 23.)

First I show a portrait of the burly knight seated in a chair, an absolutely perfect portraiture of Falstaff as we remember him from the representations given by Bartley and other great actors, and it is not uninteresting to notice how at the foot Cruikshank's humor shows in the two subscriptions "Drawn by William Shakspere" and "Etched by George Cruikshank."

A similarly attractive picture of Falstaff is where the vainglorious coward is sitting on the trunk of a tree examining his recruits. This picture is drawn from the second scene of the third act of the second part of King Henry IV. His army was indeed a ragged multitude and the minute descriptions of some of them in the play are familiar but ever fresh; but no stage representation of these recruits can possibly delineate the collection presented to the knight better or fix them more endurably on the memory than does this drawing of Cruikshank.

But far excelling in skill either of the two Falstaff pictures I have shown, is the almost perfect scene or tableau of the death of the old knight. Stephens writing of this says, "It more than any other of his works gives him the title to be called a humorist artist."

The old man in his bed, his scant, unhonored hairs strewing the pillow, his face, not wholly in pain or horror, nor a stolid blank, is turned to the light as he "babbled o' green fields." The face is admirably given and I call attention to the figure of Bardolph, with his arms folded, struggling with a sigh he was ashamed to

own; the anxious Nym and the boy looking on are excellently depicted and in all its details the scene is powerfully executed and conceived, including the portrait of the Prince on the wall.

There is an interesting history connected with "The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman." There seems to be no reason to doubt that the ballad itself was written by Dickens, and George Bell, Cruikshank's publisher, says, "I had this from Cruikshank himself and have never made use of the statement as Dickens had avowed it." Richard Herne Shepherd includes the poem in his "Bibliography of Dickens," and says it was published in 1839, and Reid in his "Catalogue" says that the literary portion of the work was by Charles Dickens, and again it is included in the "Plays and Poems" by Dickens in the Chapman & Hall edition of his works.

One of the most interesting of the plates is "The Proud Young Porter in Lord Bateman's State Department," showing how Lord Bateman won his bride and the Proud Young Porter secured the mother of the "darter," the particulars of which are fully detailed in the Loving Ballad.

A few words and I have done:

It would be unfair not to mention the great work he accomplished by the publication of his "Bank Restriction Note" (Fig. 24) in 1818.

Cruikshank was working for William Hone when in 1817 or 1818 he produced his "Bank Note not to be Imitated." He attributed to this drawing the withdrawal of Bank of England one-pound notes, such action putting an end forever to "The Punishment of Death for such an offense."

In a letter to his friend Whitaker he says that having to go down to the Bank of England early one morning, and returning between eight and nine down Ludgate Hill, he saw several human beings hanging on the gibbet opposite Newgate Prison, and to his horror two of these were women, who as he was informed had been hanged for passing forged one-pound notes. After witnessing this tragic scene, he went home and in ten minutes designed and made a sketch of this "Bank Note not to be Imitated." A half an hour after it was done, William Hone came into his room and begged leave to publish it. Cruikshank in a few minutes consented and made an etching of it and it was published. On its appearance in the shop windows it created a great sensation, and the Lord Mayor had to send the city police to disperse the crowd. The

bank directors held a meeting immediately on the subject, and after that issued no more one-pound notes—and not only that (as Cruikshank claimed), the law as a result of his plate was changed, so that hanging was abolished, even for forgery.

Cruikshank considered this "the most important design in etching" that he had ever made in his life.

And now finally, lastly and in conclusion:

In the Fairy Library, in a series of books published 1853–1854, Cruikshank endeavored to repeat his earlier successes of illustrations to Grimm by turning time-honored nursery stories into temperance tales, which induced Dickens to write his celebrated skit entitled "Frauds on the Fairies." It was published in *Household Words* on October 1, 1853. Having become a rabid teetotaler and total abstinence pleader, Cruikshank thought it desirable to publish some fairy stories altered to suit his particular views on temperance. In this article Dickens comments on the intrusion of a "Whole Hog of unwieldy dimensions into this fairy flower garden," and to enforce the lesson he wanted to teach, he "changes" Cinderella into a temperance lesson to show what sad results would follow from such a horrible Murder of the Innocents. Cinderella is made the lovely daughter and beautiful child of rich parents and Dickens' perverted story relates how she at her own choice became a member of the juvenile Band of Hope when she was four years of age. Of course we can't go into all the details of this humorous sketch, but when sitting solitary in her chimney corner, she tells her grandmother that her sisters have gone to the feast and speeches which were to cover two days of delight while she sat in the ashes, the old lady cries, "Never shall any one of the Band of Hope despair; run into the garden, my dear, and fetch me an American pumpkin." Her arrival at the feast is deliciously described, and it is related that all the water in the decanter was drunk by a quarter to twelve. At the second day's feast occurred the celebrated misfortune of forgetting the time and not escaping before the first stroke of twelve. When later she became queen, all the people who ate anything she did not eat or drank anything she did not drink were imprisoned for life, and in this happy manner on runs the skit, but it gave great offense to Cruikshank.

# TRIAL BY BATTLE.

By Alfred I. Phillips.

*(Read at the Meeting of the Society, March 20, 1911.)*

There are many interesting subjects among the antiquities of the law which have their interest not only as matters of history, but also on account of the impression they have made upon modern or comparatively modern jurisprudence and procedure and the technical forms of legal expression. Among those having much interest, although leaving only a small impression upon modern times, was "Trial by Battle," or, as it was frequently called, "Trial by Wager of Battle." It consisted of a personal combat or duel between the parties to a legal proceeding, awarded and conducted under judicial authority, in which judgment as to the legal right involved was awarded to the victor.

Several different methods of trial existed in ancient times, and among them, trial by jury was adopted at an early age. The jury system is said to have been introduced into England by the Saxon colonists. A law adopted in the time of Ethelred provided as follows:

"Let there be in each hundred a court and therein twelve of the chief men, together with the provost (bailiff of the hundred) sworn according to their evidence to condemn the guilty and acquit the innocent."

Juries, however, as originally established, do not seem to have been made up of men who would hear testimony and receive evidence for arriving at a conclusion, but rather a body composed of witnesses who would render a verdict upon their own knowledge or testimony.

Lord Coke, in referring to courts and juries, said:

"Tyrall is to finde out by due examination the truth of the point in issue or question betweene the parties, whereupon judgment may be given. . . . And the trial of the fact is in divers sorts . . . of these a triall by XII men is the most frequent and common."[1]

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[1] Co. Litt., 125.

And later on his in "Institutes," he said:

"And it seemeth to me that the law in this case delighteth herself with the number of 12. . . . And that number of twelve is much respected in holy writ, as 12 apostles, 12 stones, 12 tribes, &c."[2]

The jury system, while thus introduced at an early time, did not altogether hold its popularity. The courts of the period were inadequate, and the custom of trying certain classes of cases by ordeals was much used. Ordeals were ancient and it is said that they also were introduced in England by the Saxons. They were founded upon the superstitious belief that God would protect the innocent, and if a person accused of crimes or offenses could pass through the ordeal unharmed, it was taken as a Divine judgment in his favor. Ordeals were of different kinds, but were principally by fire or water. The former was exposure to red hot irons and the latter to either boiling water or cold water. They were treated in a great measure as religious proceedings, and were conducted in churches or on consecrated ground, with priests attending. Ordeals were abolished in England in the time of Henry III.

Prior to the abolition of ordeals, William the Conqueror came over to England, and he and his followers brought with them "Trial by Battle." This was also an ancient usage and was practised in many parts of continental Europe, but more particularly by the Germans, Swedes, and Northern races. Like ordeals, it was founded upon the superstitious belief that Heaven would give victory to him whose cause was just. It was also advocated for the reason that the chance of perjury could not enter into it, and urged as a suitable method of trial where a party to a suit had lost his evidence or was unable to produce it or his witnesses. Biblical authority was likewise cited in support of it, by reason of the conflict between David and Goliath, although this latter was not favored by Pope Nicholas I. The military spirit of the times entered very much into the subject, and a form of trial in which a man could fight for his rights seems to have been a natural and popular method of settling disputes in the middle ages. This military spirit and the prevalence of superstition were probably the principal reasons for the spread of the custom. The extent to which superstition entered into the settle-

[2] Co. Litt., 155.

ment of disputes is illustrated by a case cited by Robertson in his "History of Charles V." He says:

"A question was agitated in Spain in the eleventh century whether the Musarabic liturgy and ritual which had been used in the churches of Spain or that approved of by the See of Rome, which differed in many particulars from the other, contained the form of worship most acceptable to the Deity. The Spaniards contended zealously for the ritual of their ancestors. The Popes urged them to receive that to which they had given their infallible sanction. A violent contest arose. The nobles proposed to decide the controversy by the sword. The King approved of this method of decision. Two knights, in complete armor, entered the lists. John Ruys de Matanca, the champion of the Musarabic liturgy was victorious. But the Queen and the Archbishop of Toledo, who favored the other form, insisted on having the matter submitted to another trial and had interest enough to prevail in a request inconsistent with the laws of combat, which being considered as an appeal to God, the decision ought to have been acquiesced in as final. A great fire was kindled. A copy of each liturgy was cast into the flames. It was agreed that the book which stood this proof and remained untouched, should be received in all the churches of Spain. The Musarabic liturgy triumphed likewise in this trial; and if we may believe Roderigo de Toledo, remained unhurt by the fire, when the other was reduced to ashes. The Queen and Archbishop had power or art to elude this decision also; and the use of the Musarabic liturgy was permitted only in certain churches. A determination no less extraordinary than the whole transaction."[3]

After trial by battle was established in England, it became one of the fixed institutions of the country. Hume says it was the general method of deciding all important controversies.[4] Hallam says that in all doubtful cases, and especially where a crime not capable of notorious proof was charged, the combat was awarded.[5] And Blackstone says that after the Conquest until the time of Henry II, it was the only decision of a writ of right, which was a writ for determining the title to land.[6] Henry

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[3] "Hist. Charles V," Vol. 1, note XXII, p. 284.

[4] Hume's "Hist. England," Vol. 1, 348.

[5] Hallam's "Mid. Ages," Vol. 1, 241.

[6] 3 Black., 341.

II introduced a change in the law by which the tenant could make choice of either a trial by battle or trial by jury. The method of conducting trials by battle naturally differed more or less in the various countries, with respect to champions, weapons, etc., but in a number of matters there seems to have been a great similarity. The contest was strictly a judicial proceeding, having the full authority of law, and not in any manner a private duel. In England the judges of the court attended in their robes of office with a place arranged for them. Counsellors learned in the law were present on behalf of each of the parties to advise them as to their legal rights and the combat was waged with ceremony. Knights and noblemen fought on horseback in full armor, and with all of their weapons. Civilians and plebeians fought on foot armed with clubs and each having a leather shield. A knight or nobleman was not usually required to fight with a commoner or person below him in rank. In civil actions judgment was given to the victor according to the nature of the claim or matter in dispute. In criminal cases if the person accused was vanquished, he suffered the punishment which the law provided for the offence charged. This usually meant that he was put to death, and it was commonly done at once after the combat. The criminal law of the middle ages inflicted the death penalty for almost all offences, and in England, up to the time that Blackstone wrote, larceny of goods having a value of more than twelvepence was punished by hanging.[7] Fig. 25, taken from Froissart's "Illuminated Illustrations," is said to represent a trial by battle.

In certain classes of cases the parties were allowed to have champions to fight for them instead of fighting in person. The spirit of chivalry prevailing in the middle ages required that such champions should serve without compensation and only to assist those who from age, infirmity or other sufficient reason could not fight for themselves, but the habit of hiring a good fighter as a champion appears to have crept in. In some places it was the custom for a defeated champion to have his hand struck off to prevent corruption.[8] A custom also existed in some places of allowing the party to a combat who was accused of crime to challenge the witnesses who had testified in the proceedings leading up to the award of battle, on the ground of false

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[7] 4 Black., 237.

[8] Hallam's "Mid. Ages," 241.

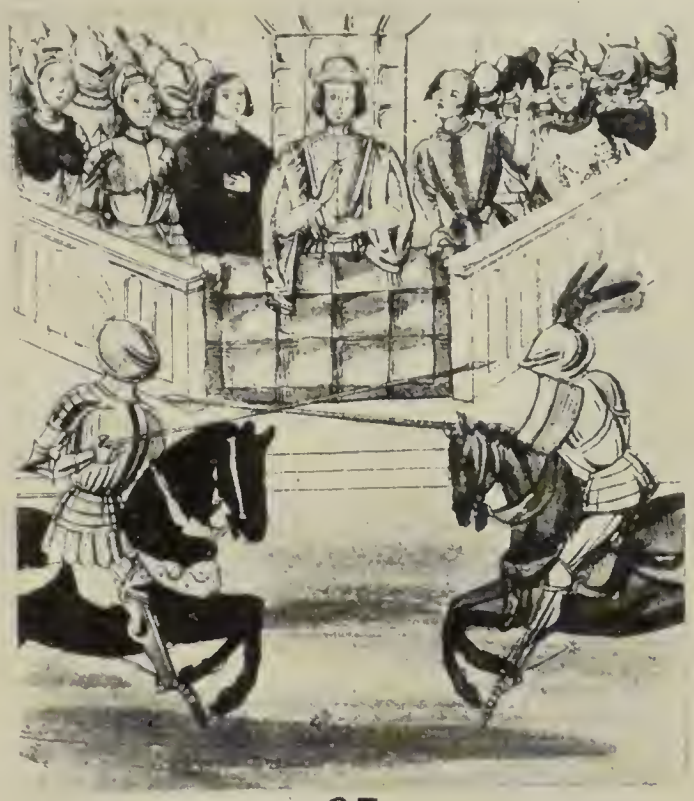

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Fig. 25. Trial by Battle on Horseback.
Fig. 26. Trial by Battle, fighting with Shields bordered with Spikes.

swearing, in which case any witness so challenged was required to fight for determining his veracity and the principal combat was meanwhile temporarily postponed to await the result.[9] The person accused also had the right in some places to appeal from the rulings of the court upon the ground of unjust or false conduct in its decisions, in which case it became the duty of all the judges in turn to fight the man who took the appeal, and if he should not vanquish all the judges in one day, then in some cases he was carried out and hanged. If he could defeat all of the judges, then the court was discredited and sometimes all of the judges were carried out and hanged.[10] A less perilous method of appeal was apparently allowed by calling on one judge to fight. If the appellant was victorious in this, the decision was reversed, but the court was not discredited.[11] This custom does not appear to have been adopted in England. In the places where these customs prevailed it would seem that the occupation of champion or judge might not have been attractive or desirable.

Certain classes of people were not obliged to fight, such as women, men over sixty, men under physical disability and the like. In some cases they could fall back on a jury trial or else select a champion. The citizens of London also were not required to fight. And a criminal caught red-handed in the commission of a felony could not require his prosecutor to wage battle in order to prove innocence.

The following illustration[12] (Fig. 26) is said by Kottenkamp to apparently represent a trial by battle in which both combatants have been unhorsed and abandoned their weapons. They are shown to be fighting with shields bordered with spikes.

In England the right to trial by battle existed in three cases:

1. Trial of writs of right, in which the title to land was involved.
2. Appeals in criminal cases, where the offence amounted to a felony.
3. Trials in the court of chivalry and honor.

The form of the combat in England does not seem to have

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[9] Kendall on "Trial by Battle," 104.

[10] Kendall on "Trial by Battle," 105.

[11] Hallam's "Mid. Ages," Vol. 1, 242.

[12] Kottenkamp, "History of Chivalry and Ancient Armour," Eng. translation, 1857, p. 110, Plate 61.

differed much in the trial of writs of right and criminal cases after the contest began, although the previous pleadings and the oaths as to the combat were necessarily different. The conflicts in the court of chivalry, on the other hand, were conducted with much more ceremony. In the trial of writs of right the battle was conducted by champions, for if a party to such suit should die before judgment was pronounced the suit abated and as one party might be slain in the combat, champions were selected to represent them in order to obviate a possible failure of the suit.

In criminal cases the parties fought in person. In 1638 the question came before the court whether an exception could be taken to the champions after the battle had been gaged, the champions allowed and pledges given, upon the ground that they had been hired. The court decided that it was too late then to raise the question.[13]

After the pleadings in a writ of right had been completed and the tenant offered to prove his title by his body, he produced his champion, who threw down his glove as a gage or pledge stipulating battle. The champion of the demandant by taking up the glove accepted the challenge.

Lists were then prepared, being a space sixty feet square, with a court for the judges and a bar for the sergeants at law. At the appointed time for the battle the champions took each other by the hand and each made oath claiming the land for his principal. There was next an oath in this or similar form:

"Hear this, ye justices, that I have this day neither eat, drank, nor have upon me neither bone, stone nor grass, nor any enchantement, sorcery or witchcraft, whereby the law of God may be abased or the law of the devil exalted. So help me God and His Saints."

This form necessarily differed somewhat in criminal cases. The battle then began, commencing with sunrise and lasting until the stars appeared in the evening, when, if the champion of the tenant had not been vanquished, judgment was given for the tenant, but if the champion of the demandant was victorious before that time, judgment was given for the demandant. Victory might also come before the stars appeared, if either champion became recreant and uttered the horrid word "craven," which signified an admission of defeat and a request for mercy. The

[13] Rushworth's "Historical Collection," Part 2, 788.

Fig. 27. Trial by Battle on Foot. Copy of an ancient drawing.

champion uttering this word became infamous, and was not to be known thereafter as *liber et legalis homo.*

In the "History of the Antiquities of the Exchequer," by Madox, the following description is given of a battle in a criminal case:

"Now we are speaking of duells I will lay before the reader a pretty remarkable case that was fought in the reign of Henry III between *Walter Blowberme*, an approver,[14] and *Hamon le Stare*, together with a draught or figure of the Duell, as it was drawn at that time. The case was this: *Walter Blowberme* appealed *Hamon le Stare* of Robbery; alledging that they were together at *Winchester*, and there stole cloathes and other goods, whereof *Hamon* had for his share, two coats, to-wit, one of *Irish* cloth and the other a party coat of cloth of *Abendon* and Burell of *London:* that he (the said *Walter*) was in fellowship with the said *Hamon* in the said Robbery he offereth to prove by his body as the Court shall award. *Hamon* came and denyed the whole, and saith that he will defend himself by his body. Whereupon it was awarded that there should be a Duell between them. A Duell was struck. And Hamon, being vanquished in the Combat, was adjudged to be hanged."[15]

Madox further said that the draught or figure referred to was remaining in the Queen's Treasury of Records in the Tower of London and as he guessed it upon view was of the reign of King Henry III. The draught of figure is reproduced by Mr. Madox, and Fig. 27 is a copy of it.

In 1571 a trial by battle was arranged in a writ of right in the King's Bench between Simon Low *et al. vs.* T. Paramore. The battle did not actually take place by reason of a default, but the report shows the arrangements that were made for it.[16] The plaintiffs counted on their seisin, etc., and the following is a quotation from the report:

"Paramore chose the trial by battle and his champion was one George Thorne and the demandants e contra and their champion was one Henry Nailor a master of defence. And the Court awarded the battle and the champions were by mainprise and

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[14] An approver was one who confessed himself guilty of a criminal offence and sought to escape punishment by implicating others.

[15] Madox "Hist. Exc.," 550, Note.

[16] 3. Dyer's Reports, 300 b.

sworn (*quaere* the form of the oath) to perform the battle at Tothill in Westminster on the Monday next after the morrow of the Trinity which was the first day after the Utas of the Term and the same day given to the parties at which day and place a list was made in an even and level piece of ground, set out square, S. sixty feet on each side due E. W. N. & S., and a place or seat for the Judges of the Bench was made without and above the Lists and covered with the furniture of the same Bench in Westminster Hall and a bar made for the Sergeants at law. And about the Tenth hour of the same day, three Justices of the Bench, Dyer, Weston and Harper, Welshe being absent on account of sickness, repaired to the place in their robes of scarlet with the appurtenances and coifs and the sergeants also. And there public proclamation being three times made with an *Oyes* the demandants first were solemnly called and did not come. And after which the mainpernors of the champion were called to produce the champion of the demandants first who came into the place apparelled in red sandals over armour of leather, bare-legged from the knee downward and bare headed and bare arms to the elbow, being brought in by the hand of a Knight namely Sir Jerome Bowes who carried a red baston of an ell long, tipped with horn and a Yeoman carrying a target made of double leather and they were brought in at the North side of the lists and went about the side of the lists until the middest of the lists and then came towards the bar before the Justices with three solemn congies and there was he made to stand at the fourth side of the place being the right side of the court and after that the other champion was brought in like manner at the south side of the lists with like congies &c. by the hands of Sir Henry Cheney, Knight, etc., and was set on the North side of the bar; and two sergeants being of counsel of each party in the midst between them; this done the demandant was solemnly called again and appeared not but made default, upon which default Barham Sergeant for the tenant prayed the Court to record the non suit which was done. And then Dyer Chief Justice reciting the writ, count and issue, joined upon battle and the oath of the champions to perform it and the fixing of the day and place gave final judgment against the demandants and that the tenant should hold the land to him and his heirs forever quit of the said demandants and their heirs forever and the demandants and their pledges to prosecute in the Queen's mercy &c. And then solemn proclamation was made that the cham-

pions and all other persons there present (who were by estimation above four thousand) should depart every man in the peace of God and the Queen. And they did so *cum magno clamore "Vivat Regina."*

In the Court of Chivalry, trials were attended with much greater formality and the king attended in person. The case of Rea *vs.* Ramsey,[17] the date of which was 1630–31, shows the form of procedure up to the actual time of making the lists. The combat, after all of the pleadings had been heard, did not take place, as the order allowing it was revoked. Donald, Lord Rea, filed his petition charging David Ramsey with importing plots and practices against the Crown, the truth whereof he declared he was ready to maintain with the hazard of his life and his dearest blood. The petition being read, the Lord Constable, with the counsel of the other nobles, declared his majesty's pleasure that the cause should be tried in the Court of Chivalry. The plaintiff then filed specific accusations and offered to prove the same by his body, and threw down his glove for a pawn or pledge. The defendant, Ramsey, answered that the accusation was false and that he was ready to prove this in duel. He then threw down his glove and the gloves were picked up by the King of Arms and delivered to the Lord Constable. Both parties were thereupon arrested, but gave sureties, etc. Ramsey submitted a detailed defence, after which the Lord Constable took the appeal in his hands and, folding it up, put it into the glove which Lord Rea had cast into the court and held these in his right hand and held in his left hand the answer and glove of David Ramsay, and then folding them together, he, with the Earl Marshall, adjudged a duel between the parties in the following form of words:

"In the name of the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost, the holy and most Blessed Trinity who is one and the only God and Judge of Battles; We as his Vice regents, under the most excellent prince in Christ our Lord and King, by whom we are duputized to this, Do admit you the aforesaid Donald Lord Rea, the party challenging, and you, the aforesaid Defendant, David Ramsey, the Defendant to a Duel upon every accusation contained in this Bill and the answer to the same, and we assign unto you the Twelfth day of the month of April next following between sun

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[17] Rushworth's "Historical Collection," Part 2, 113.

and sun, in the fields called Tuttle Fields in or near Westminster, in the presence of our Lord the King, to do and perform your parts to your utmost power respectively and we will and enjoin you the aforesaid Lord Rea, the challenger, to be in the aforesaid fields and within the List there between seven and nine of the clock in the forenoon of the aforesaid day. And we enjoin you, the said David Ramsey, the defendant to be in the fields aforesaid and within the List between nine and eleven of the clock in the forenoon of the said day, upon peril attending you respectively in that behalf."

Lord Rea then requested that the crimes of which he accused Ramsey be declared treasonable and the court so declared. The parties were then again attached, but gave caution for their appearance at the time and place appointed and meanwhile to keep the peace, and Rea was admonished not to go westward beyond Charing Cross and Ramsey not to go east of Whitehall. After various minor decisions as to the Duel, the Court made the following order as to the dimensions of weapons:

A long sword, four foot and a half in length, Hilt and all, in breadth two inches.

Short sword a yard and four inches in length, Hilt and all, in breadth two inches.

Pike fifteen foot in length, head and all.

Dagger, nineteen inches in length, Hilt and all, in breadth an inch.

The weapons were not to exceed these dimensions, but the parties might abate of this length and breadth if they thought fit.

By a further order the parties could use defensive arms at their own discretion.

On March 31, 1631, the Court reassembled and declared that, upon examination, they had not found David Ramsey guilty of treason, yet had committed many contempts. The letters patent for the Duel were then revoked.

The making of the Lists for a trial in the Court of Chivalry is thus described by Mr. Herbert:[18]

"The making of the Lists.—The Kynge shall fynde the field to fyght on; and the lysts shall be made at the mareschalls devise. And it is to be considered bitwene the constable and mareschall, that the lists be lx pace of length, and xl pace of

[18] Herbert's "Inns of Court," 132.

widness, and that the ground be hard stable, and stedfast and evynly made, and without grete stones; and the ground plat, and that the gates of lysts be shette with gode barrers, and wele kept with sergeants of armes; and that the lists be wele and strongely barred all about; and that they suffre not the folk without to nigh the lists by iii fete; and a gate in the est, and anothir in the west, with gode and stronge barres of vii fete high or more, that an hors may nat lepe over."

The ceremony of the oaths and inspection of weapons was elaborate. The entry of the parties into the lists is well described by Shakespeare in Richard II, Act 1, Scene III, where the intended combat between Henry, Earl of Hereford, and the Duke of Norfolk was stopped by the king. It has also been described as follows:[19]

"Hereford the challenger first appeared on a white charger gaily caparisoned, armed at all points, and holding his drawn sword. When he approached the lists, the marshal demanded his name and business, to which he replied: 'I am Henry of Lancaster earl of Hereford, come hither according to my duty against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, a false traitor to God and the king, the realm and me.' Then taking the oath that his quarrel was just and true, he desired to enter the lists; which being granted, he sheathed his sword, pulled down his beaver, crossed himself on the forehead, seized his lance, passed the barrier, alighted, and sat down in a chair of green velvet placed at one end of the lists. He had scarce taken his seat when the king came into the field with great pomp, attended by the lords, the count de St. Pol, who came from France on purpose to see that famous trial, and ten thousand men at arms to prevent tumults and disturbances. His majesty being seated in his chair of state, the king at arms proclaimed, that none but such as were appointed to marshal the field should presume to touch the lists upon pain of death. Then another herald proclaimed aloud, 'Behold here Henry of Lancaster earl of Hereford, who has entered the lists to perform his devoir against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, on pain of being counted false and recreant.' Just then the duke of Norfolk appeared in arms, mounted upon a barbed horse, with a coat of crimson velvet, embroidered with lions of silver and mulberry-trees; and, having taken his oath before

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[19] Herbert's "Inns of Court," 145, note.

the constable and mareschal entered the field, exclaiming aloud, 'God defend the right.' Then alighting from his horse, he placed himself in a chair of crimson velvet opposite to his antagonist at the other end of the lists. After which, the mareschal having measured their lances, delivered one to the challenger, and sent a knight with the other to the duke of Norfolk, and proclamation was made that they should prepare for the combat. Accordingly, mounting their horses and closing their beavers, they fixed their lances in rest, and the trumpets sounded the charge. The earl of Hereford began his career with great violence; but before he could join his antagonist, the king threw down his warder, and the heralds interposed, and by the advice and authority of his parliamentary commissioners he stopped the combat, and ordered both the combatants to leave the kingdom."

There was another case in the Court of Chivalry in 1638, after which judicial duels apparently ended and seemed to be obsolete, but the subject came up once again in the English courts in 1818, when the defendant in a criminal prosecution demanded his right to prove his innocence by combat. The demand grew out of the long prevailing law which allowed private prosecutions for criminal offences. There was a double aspect to a criminal offence under the English law. It was a public wrong and also a private injury. The crown could prosecute for the public wrong and the person injured could prosecute to punish the private injury. Both were criminal proceedings. The private prosecution was called an "Appeal," which did not mean an application to a higher court to review the proceedings in a lower one, but the word was used to indicate a call or demand in an original private suit to answer a complaint. The accused then had the right to defend himself in a duel. If the defendant was found guilty in such private prosecution the same punishment was inflicted as if conviction had resulted upon indictment by the crown. In murder cases the right of suit accrued to the heir and under a revision of the law upon the subject in the time of Henry VII it became the duty of the crown to prosecute first and in the event of an acquittal by a jury the heir of the murdered person could begin a private prosecution to test the question of guilt a second time. These private appeals are said to have been established with the view of assisting in the collection of *weregilds* which represented pecuniary payments for the private settlement of criminal offences. Our ancestors seem to have

arranged *weregilds* with much nicety and established a scale of prices to be paid for the commission of various crimes. Appeals appear to have been popular and several efforts to abolish them failed.

In 1818, one Abraham Thornton was indicted by the crown for the murder of one Mary Ashford, and accused of pushing her into a pit of water whereby she was drowned. Thornton was tried before a jury. The evidence was circumstantial and he was acquitted. William Ashford, brother of the woman, then brought his appeal for a second trial and Thornton threw down his glove in court and demanded a trial by combat. A long argument of counsel followed and the court awarded the battle.[20] Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, said in his opinion: "The cases which have been cited in this argument and the others to which we ourselves have referred shew very distinctly that the general mode of trial by law in a case of appeal is by battle at the election of the appellee unless the case is brought within certain exceptions. . . . The general law of the land is in favor of the wager of battle and it is our duty to pronounce the law as it is, and not as we may wish it to be. Whatever prejudices therefore may justly exist against this mode of trial, still as it is the law of the land, the court must pronounce judgment for it."

The people were then expecting to see the lists made up in Tothill Fields and the battle waged, but William Ashford, the appellant, who was inferior in strength, withdrew his prosecution, or, as Campbell expresses it, cried *craven*[21] and the suit was ended. As a result of this case the Act of 59 Geo. III, c 46, was passed, abolishing criminal appeals and trial by battle.

There is some authority for the assertion that trial by battle might have been demanded in some of the United States where the colonists brought with them the laws and usages of England. In Maryland in 1765 there was a private appeal of murder. The accused did not make demand for battle and was convicted before a jury and executed.[22]

It would be interesting to follow the subject in greater detail, as the outline that has been given is only superficial, but time and space do not permit a longer discussion.

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[20] Barnwell & Alderson, "King's Bench Rep.," Vol. 1, 405.

[21] Campbell's "Lives of Chief Justices," Vol. IV, 181.

[22] Harris & McHenry, Rep., 227.

Resolved

That the first Adventurers and Settlers of this his Majesties Colony and Dominion brought with them and transmitted to their Posterity and all other his Majesties Subjects since inhabiting in this his Majesties said Colony all the Priviledges, Franchises & Immunities that have at any Time been held, enjoyed & possessed by the People of Great Britain.

Resolved

That by the two royal Charters granted by King James the first the Colonists aforesaid are declared intitled to all the Priviledges, Liberties & Immunities of Denizens and natural born Subjects to all Intents and Purposes as if they had been abiding and born within the Realm of England.

Resolved.

That the Taxation of the People by themselves or by Persons

chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what Taxes the People
are able to bear and the easiest Mode of raising them and are equally
affected by such Taxes themselves is the distinguishing Characteristick
of British Freedom and without which the ancient Constitution
cannot subsist.

Resolved That his Majesties liege People of this most ancient Colony
have uninteruptedly enjoyed the Right of being thus governed by their own
Assembly in the Article of their Taxes and internal Police and that the
same hath never been forfeited or any other Way given up but hath
been constantly recognized by the Kings & People of Great Britain.

Resolved Therefore that the General Assembly of this Colony have the
only and sole exclusive Right & Power to lay Taxes & Impositions upon
the Inhabitants of this Colony and that every Attempt to vest such
Power in any ~~Power~~ Person or Persons whatsoever other than the
General Assembly aforesaid has a manifest Tendency to destroy British
[illegible] American Freedom.

Fig. 28. Original Draft of Resolution against the Stamp Act prepared by Patrick Henry.

If they are wise, they will be great & happy. If they are ~~[illegible]~~ of a contrary Character they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a Nation —

Reader, whoever thou art remember this, & in thy Sphere, practise Virtue thyself, & encourage it in others

P. Henry

Rejoins

The within Resolution [illegible] Bro the [illegible] House of
Burgesses in May 1765 — they formed the first Opposition
to the Stamp Act & the Scheme of taxing America by
the British Parliament — All the Colonys either Thro'
Fear or want of Opperteeney to form an Opposition, or
from Influence of some Kind or other, had remained
Silent. I had been for the first Time elected a Burgess a few
Days before was yoringeney perienced, unacquainted
with the Forms of the House & the Members that compose it.
Finding the men of Weight averse to Opposition & the Commence-
ment of the Taxat Oland & [illegible] no person was likely to step
forth, I determined to venture & alone unadvised & unas-
sisted, on a blank leaf of an old Law Book, wrote the with-
in. Upon offering them [illegible] the House violent Debates
ensued: Many Threats were uttered & much Abuse cast
on me by the Party for Submission — After a long & warm
Contest the Resolutions passed by a very small Majority
perhaps of one or two only — The Alarm spread thorough
out America with astonishing Quickness, & the ministerial
Party were overwhelmed. The great Point of Resistance to British
Taxation was universally established in the Colonys. This led
on the War which finally separated the two Countrys & gave
Independence to ours — Whether this will prove a Blessing or
a Curse will depend upon the Use our People make of the
Blessings which a gracious Goodness bestowed on us.

[illegible]

Fig. 29. Reverse of Fig. 28.

# ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE RESOLUTION PREPARED BY PATRICK HENRY AGAINST THE STAMP ACT.

*(Exhibited to The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, by Charles L. Hamilton, Esq., April 17, 1911.)*

*Resolved*

That the first Adventurers and Settlers of this his Majesties Colony and Dominion brought with them and transmitted to their Posterity and all other his Majesties Subjects since inhabiting in this his Majestie's said Colony all the Priviledges, Franchises & Immunities that have at any Time been held, enjoyed, & possessed by the People of Great Britain.

*Resolved*

That by two royal Charters granted by King James the first the Colonists aforesaid are declared intituled to all the Priviledges, Liberties & Immunities of Denizens and natural born Subjects to all Intents and Purposes as if they had been abiding and born within the Realm of England.

*Resolved*

That the Taxation of the Peoples by themselves or by Persons chosen by themselves to represent them who can only know what Taxes the People are able to bear and the easiest Mode of raising them and are equally affected by such Taxes themselves is the distinguishing Characteristick of British Freedom and without which the ancient Constitution cannot subsist.

*Resolved*

That his Majestie's liege People of this most ancient Colony have uninteruptedly enjoyed the Right of being thus governed by their own assembly in the article of their Taxes and internal Polic^e^ and that the same hath never been forfeited or any other Way given up but hath been constantly recognized by the Kings & People of Great Britain.

*Resolved*

Therefore that the General Assembly of this Colony have the *only and sole exclusive* Right & Power to lay Taxes & Impositions upon the Inhabitants of this Colony and that every Attempt to vest such Power in any Person or Persons whatsoever other than the General Assembly aforesaid has a manifest Tendency to destroy British as well as American Freedom.

REVERSE.

The within Resolution passed the House of Burgesses in May 1765. They formed the first Opposition to the Stamp Act & the Scheme of taxing America by the British Parliament. All the Colonys either Thro Fear, or want of Oppertunity to form an Opposition, or from Influence of some Kind or other, had remained Silent, I had been, for the first Time elected a Burgess a few Days before, was young, inexperienced, unacquainted with

the Forms of the House & the Members that composed it. Finding the men of Weight averse to Opposition, & the Comencement of the Tax at Hand & that no person was likely to step forth, I determined to venture & alone, unadvised, & unassisted, on a blank Leaf of an old Law Book wrote the within. Upon offering them to the House, violent Debates ensued. Many Threats were uttered & much Abuse cast on me by the Party for Submission —After a long & warm Contest the Resolutions passed by a very small Majority perhaps of one or two only—The Alarm spread throughout America with astonishing Quickness, & the ministerial Party were overwhelmed. The great Point of Resistance to british Taxation was universally established in the Colonys. This bro^t on the War which finally separated the two Countrys & gave Independence to ours—Whether this will prove a Blessing or a Curse, will depend upon the use our People make of the Blessings which a gracious God hath bestowed on us. If they are wise, they will be great & happy. If they are of a contrary Character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a Nation—Reader! 'whoever thou art, remember this,' & in thy Sphere, Practise Virtue thyself, & encourage it in others.

P. Henry.

Hon'd Sir  Long-Island Campbell County Oct. 16th 1795.

Your Favor of the 9th Inst. is this Moment bro't to me by an Express from Richmond. The Contents of it make a deep Impression on my Mind. To disobey the Call of my Country into Service, when her venerable Chief makes the Demand of it, must be a Crime, unless the most substantial Reasons justify ~~the Refusal~~ declining it. — And I must trust in Candour & your Goodness to excuse me for ~~declining the Acceptance~~ not accepting of the Appointment you are pleased to offer me — My Domestic Situation pleads strongly against a Removal to Philadelphia, having no less than eight Children by my present Marriage, & Mrs Kerry's Situation ~~at present~~ now forbidding her Approach to the small Pox which neither herself nor any of our Family ever had — To this may be added other Considerations arising from Loss of Crops & consequent Derangem.t of my Finances — And what is of decisive Weight with me, my own Health & Strength I believe are unequal to the Duty's of the Station you are pleased to offer me — This Detail, composed so much ~~in part~~ of ~~uninteresting~~ Particulars uninteresting to the Public, I am emboldened to

lay before you, from the very friendly sentiments you are pleased to express towards me.

Permit me to add, that having devoted many years of the prime of my life to the public service, & thereby injured my Circumstances, I have been obliged to resume my Profession & go again to the Bar, at a time of life too advanced to support the Fatigues of it. By this Means my Health has been injured.

When these things are considered, may I hope for your favorable Judgement on the Motives by which I am actuated. Believe me Sir, I have bid adieu to the distinction of Federal & Antifederal ever since the Commencem.t of the present Govern.t; & in the Circle of my Friends have often expressed my Fears of division amongst the States from Collision of Interests, but especially from the baneful Effects of Faction. The most I can say is, that if my Country is destined in my day to encounter the Horrors of Anarchy, every Power of Mind & Body which I possess will be exerted in Support of the Government under which I live, & which has been fairly sanctioned by my Countrymen. I should be unworthy the Character of a Republican or an honest man if I withheld from the Government my best & most zealous Efforts because in its Adoption I opposed it in its unamend.

Fig. 30. Letter from Patrick Henry to Washington declining the position of Secretary of State.

Form. and I do most cordially execrate the ~~Policy which~~ Conduct of those men who
loose sight of the public Interest from personal Motives —

Mr with painfull Regret that I perceive any Occurrences of late
have given you Uneasiness. Indeed Sir I did hope & pray that it might
be your Lot as small a portion of that, as the most favored Condition of
Humanity can experience — and if it eventually comes to pass that Evil —
instead of Good grows out of the Politick Measures you may adopt, I ~~hope~~ confide —
that our Country will not so far ~~forget~~ depart from her Character as to judge from
the Events, but give full Credit to the Motives, ~~& judge~~ decide from these alone.
Forgive Sir these Effusions & permit me to add to them one more which is
an Ardent Wish that the best Reward of a well spent Life may be yours

With the most sincere Esteem & high Regard I ever am

dear Sir your much obliged & very humble Servant

J. Henry

To the President of the
United States

Fig. 31. Reverse of Fig. 30.

# LETTER FROM PATRICK HENRY TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON DECLINING THE POSITION OF SECRETARY OF STATE.

*(Exhibited to The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, by Charles L. Hamilton, Esq., April 17, 1911.)*

Long-Island Campbell County Oct$^{r}$. 16$^{th}$. 1795

*$^{h}$on$^{h}$ Sir*

Your Favor of the 9$^{th}$ Ins$^{t}$. is this Moment bro.$^{t}$ to me by an Express from Richmond. The Contents of it make a deep Impression on my Mind. To disobey the Call of my Country into Service, when her venerable Chief makes the Demand of it must be a Crime, unless the most substantial Reasons justify declining it. And I must trust in Candour & your Goodness to excuse me for not accepting the Appointment you are pleased to offer me. My Domestic Situation pleads strongly against a Removal to Philadelphia, having no less than eight Children by my Present Marriage, & M$^{rs}$. Henry's —Situation now forbidding her Approach to the small pox which neither herself nor any of our Family ever had—To this may be added other Considerations arising from Loss of Crops & consequent Derangem$^{t}$. of my Finances—And what is of decisive Weight with me,my own Health & Strength I believe are unequal to the Dutys of the Station you are pleased to offer me—This Detail, composed so much of Particulars uninteresting to the public, I am emboldened to lay before you, from the very friendly & unreserved—sentiments you are pleased to express towards me. Permit me to add, that having devoted many Years of the prime of my Life to the public Service, & thereby injured my Circumstances, I have been obliged to resume my Profession & go again to the Bar, at a Time of Life too advanced to support the Fatigues of it. By this Means my Health has been injured.

When these Things are considered, may I hope for your favorable Judgement on the Motives by which I am actuated? Believe me, Sir I have bid adieu to the Distinction of federal & Antifederal ever since the Comencemen$^{t}$. of the present Goverm$^{t}$; & in the Circle of my Friends have often expressed my Fears of Disunion amongst the States from Collision of Interests, but especially from the banefull Effects of Factions—The most I can say is, that if my Country is destined in my Day to encounter the Horrors of Anarchy, every Power of Mind & Body which I possess will be exerted in Support of the Goverment under which I live, & which has been fairly sanctioned by my Countrymen. I should be unworthy the character of a Republican or an honest man if I withheld from the Goverment my best and most zealous Efforts because in its Adoption I opposed it in its unamend Form. And I do most cordially execrate the Conduct of those men who loose Sight of the public Interest from personal Motives.

It is with painfull Regret that I perceive any Occurrences of late have

given you Uneasiness. Indeed Sir I did hope & pray that it might be your Lot to feel as small a portion of that, as the most favored condition of Humanity can experience—And if it eventually comes to pass that Evil instead of Good grows out of the Public Measures you may adopt, I confide that our Country will not so far depart from her character as to judge from the Events, but give full Credit to the Motives, & decide from these alone. Forgive Sir these Effusions & permit me to add to them one more which is an Ardent Wish that the best Rewards which are due to a well spent Life may be yours.

With the most sincere Esteem & high Regard, I ever am dear Sir your much obliged & very humble Servant,

P. Henry.

To the President of the united States.

Copy of my Letter to
the president in answer to
his offering the Department
of State to me

Fig. 32. Patrick Henry, from original miniature on ivory, painted by Lawrence Sully, 1795, in possession of Gilbert S. Parker, Esq., Phila.

# THE MINIATURE AND PORTRAITS OF PATRICK HENRY.

By Charles Henry Hart.

*(Remarks made at the Meeting of the Society, April 17, 1911.)*

It may be of interest to the gentlemen present to hear some account of this miniature exhibited by Mr. Parker (Fig. 32), as also of the Thomas Sully portrait of Patrick Henry. It was purchased by Mr. Parker in this city at the sale of December 10, 1910, where Mr. Hamilton obtained the interesting memorials of Henry that he has exhibited to-night, but the miniature was not a part of the "Henry Collection" and its great iconographic importance is that until its appearance there was no authentic original life portrait of Henry known.

In 1875–76, I was associated with the commission for the restoration of the old State House or Independence Hall and for the formation of a National Museum therein, and it was deemed very desirable to obtain for the gallery of historical portraits in the museum one of Patrick Henry. To this end our energies were bent, with the result that we could find no authentic portrait of him, the commonly accepted one having been painted by Thomas Sully in 1815, or sixteen years after Henry's death. This posthumous portrait was made from a portrait of Captain James Cook, the circumnavigator, by Nathaniel Dance (Fig. 33), to which portrait Henry bore such a strong resemblance that it was given to Sully for his base and guide for the portrait he was engaged to make of Henry, modified by suggestions from persons who had known the Virginian orator in life. It was painted by Sully for the purpose of being engraved as the frontispiece to William Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry," published in 1817, and it was so engraved by William S. Leney and published by James Webster. (Figs. 34 and 35.)

My authority for the genesis of this Sully portrait of Patrick Henry was his grandson, the Hon. William Wirt Henry, of Richmond, who a quarter of a century later published the life and writings of his grandfather, but who, in the lapse of twenty-five years underwent, for some unexplained reason, a change of heart

on the subject from what he previously had, as will appear from his statement on p. 651 of Vol. 2 of his biography. He writes regarding the Sully portrait of Patrick Henry:

"The author received the following information from his father John Henry, the youngest son of Patrick Henry, in regard to the Sully portrait, from which the etching in the first volume has been made. During the trial of the British Debt cause in the United States court at Richmond, a French artist attended and painted a miniature of Patrick Henry, representing him as speaking. The artist presented the miniature, set in gold, to Mr. Henry, who afterwards gave it to the wife of his half-brother, Mrs. John Syme. While Mr. Wirt was preparing his life of Patrick Henry, he was allowed by the Flemings, descendants of Col. Syme, to have a portrait painted by Thomas Sully, of Philadelphia, from the miniature. The artist copied the miniature with some slight alterations as to the wig, suggested by Chief Justice Marshall. The portrait when completed was intrusted to Mr. James Webster, the publisher of Mr. Wirt's life of Henry, in order that it might be engraved for the forthcoming volume. Afterwards Mr. Wirt while Attorney General of the United States presented the portrait to John Henry, who was living at Red Hill with his mother. He was too young when his father died to have remembered him, but his mother and older brother and sisters pronounced it the best likeness they ever saw of Patrick Henry. John Henry gave this portrait at his death to the author."

I knew Mr. William Wirt Henry personally. He was one of the orators at the centennial celebration held in Independence Hall on July 2, 1876, in commemoration of the introduction into Congress of the "Resolutions respecting Independancy," when a congress of authors convened, each one bringing a biographical sketch of a revolutionary worthy, and as the sequel will show the history he gave shortly prior to this occasion of the Sully portrait of Patrick Henry was the correct one and the story he subsequently remembered having been told by his father an apocryphal one. This is made clear and emphatic by the production of the original miniature that belonged to the Syme-Fleming family and comparing it with the Sully painting and the latter again with an engraving of Dance's portrait of Captain Cook.

My investigation of the portraits of Patrick Henry rested until 1904, when I was engaged in selecting and editing the two hundred illustrations for the five volume edition of

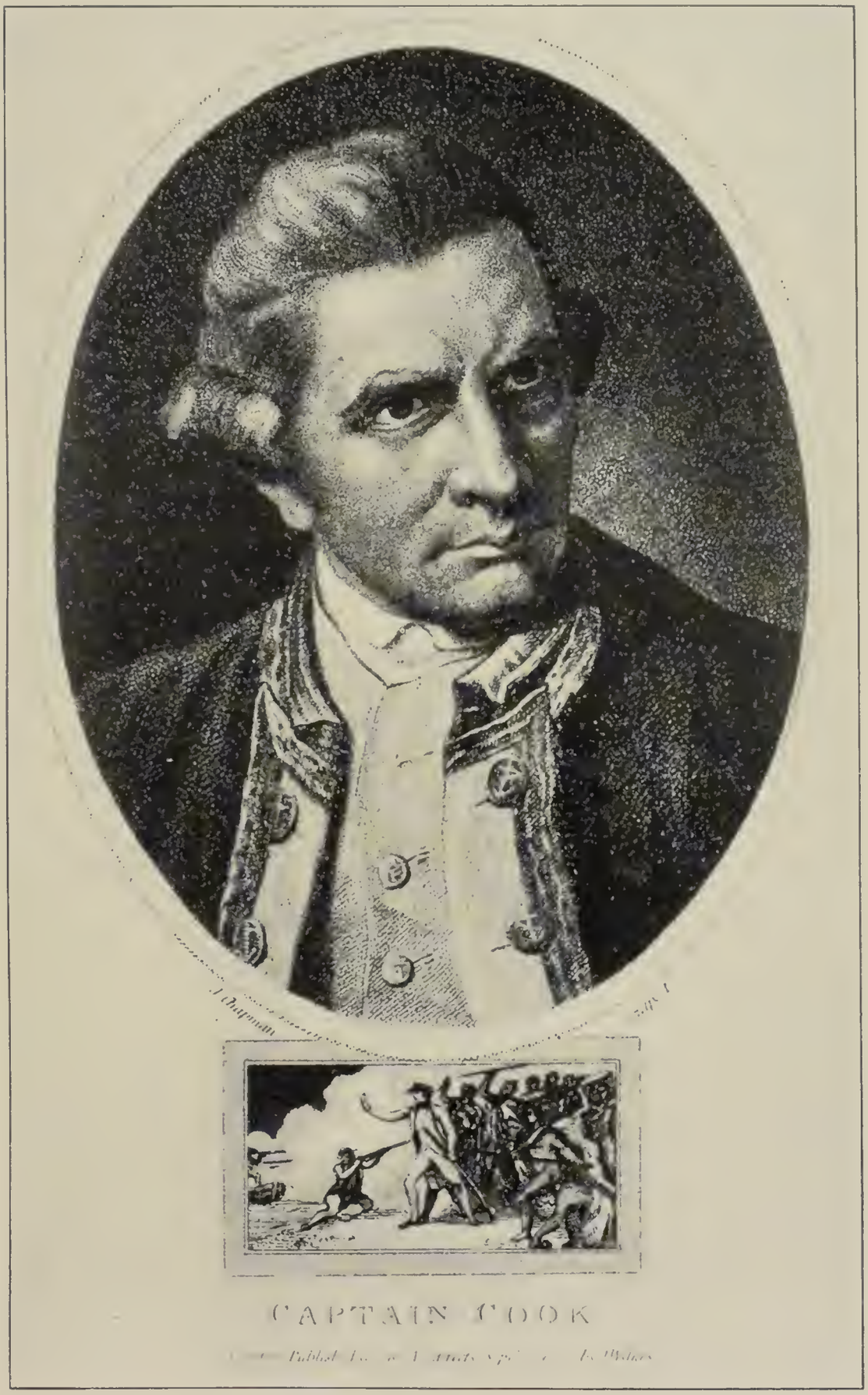


Fig. 33.

Elson's "History of the United States," published by the Macmillan Company, where a portrait of Henry would have been a very desirable addition, and as in the intervening years since the Centennial a rumor had gotten abroad that there was a miniature of Henry in existence in Virginia I made an earnest hunt to discover it. I knew that, circa 1833, E. Wellmore had engraved for the "National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans," issued by Longacre and Herring in this city, a portrait of Patrick Henry "from a painting by J. B. Longacre after an original miniature in possession of John S. Fleming, Esqr., of Virginia." With this knowledge I wrote to every Fleming in Virginia whose name and address I could obtain as well as having my quest noted in the Richmond newspapers, but all without avail, so that Henry's portrait does not appear in Elson's history. Subsequently Mr. George Morgan, of this city, who wrote "The True Patrick Henry," became interested in the search and by the aid of Miss Gilberta S. Whittle, a literary woman in Richmond, who had been of assistance to Mr. Morgan in the preparation of his book, the miniature shown this evening by Mr. Parker was found in the possession of John S. Fleming, Professor of Mathematics in the Virginia Mechanics Institute, Richmond, Va., who had kept it not only sacredly but secretly for fear some one might copy it. This was after the sale of "The Henry Collection" had been announced to take place on December 10, 1910, of which Mr. Fleming was informed, and on the 29th of November the miniature was sent by special messenger from Richmond to Mr. Morgan, who placed it in the hands of Stan V. Henkels, the well known auctioneer, who was to hold the Henry sale, to be sold with that collection. It was just in time to be placed in the catalogue which was in proof, so that it appears under "410 A," the "A" showing that it was an insert after the catalogue had been prepared, "410" being the Sully portrait of Henry. The catalogue states: "This is the original much-sought-after miniature of Patrick Henry, taken from life by a French artist at the time the great patriot was arguing the British Debt cases in the United States Court at Richmond, Virginia; it depicts him addressing the court, and from this miniature Thos. Sully painted the oil portrait (above described) for Wm. Wirt, his biographer."

At Mr. Parker's request I examined the miniature and at once recognized it as the work of Lawrence Sully (1769–1803), eldest brother of Thomas Sully (1783–1872), an ascription of

authorship that was confirmed by the magnifying glass which revealed the initials "L. S.," followed by the date "1795." Thus was swept aside the tradition, worthless as traditions usually are, that the miniature was painted by a French artist when Henry was in court arguing the British Debt cases, which was in 1791, or four years before the miniature was painted and then by an English artist and not by a French one.

The question has been put: "How do you know that this miniature is a portrait of Patrick Henry?" It is a pertinent question and can readily be answered. It can be shown in two ways: first by the engraving by Wellmore to which I have referred, published seventy-seven years ago, and second by its clear and undoubted pedigree.

Patrick Henry's mother was the widow of John Syme, with one son named for his father, when she married Colonel John Henry, and their son Patrick was born May 29, 1738. John Syme, Jr., Patrick Henry's half-brother, was a man of considerable local prominence. He was Chairman of the Hanover County Committee in March, 1776; a member, along with Patrick Henry, of the Virginia Convention of May 6, 1776, and Sheriff of Hanover in 1790. He was very active during the Yorktown campaign, being Commissary with special charge of keeping the roads in order and had too the guarding of prisoners from Yorktown to Winchester, with power to take paroles and open letters of the prisoners. He was twice married, his first wife being Mildred Meriweather, of the well-known Virginian family of that name, and his second wife was Sarah, daughter of Adam and Elizabeth Hoops, of Philadelphia, her marriage license being issued March 17, 1768. The issue of his last marriage was one daughter named for her grandmother, Elizabeth, to whom her grandfather Hoops bequeathed by his will, in 1771, a legacy of £557,17,1.[1] Elizabeth Syme married in 1786 George Frederick Augustus Fleming, and of their eleven children a son born in 1791 was named for his grandfather John Syme Fleming. Patrick Henry was much attached to his half-brother John Syme and gave this miniature by Lawrence Sully to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Sarah [Hoops] Syme, which she in turn gave to her grandson John Syme

[1] Adam Hoops' personal estate was appraised at £42,079,12, ½, a no inconsiderable fortune in those days, and he was besides a large landed proprietor.

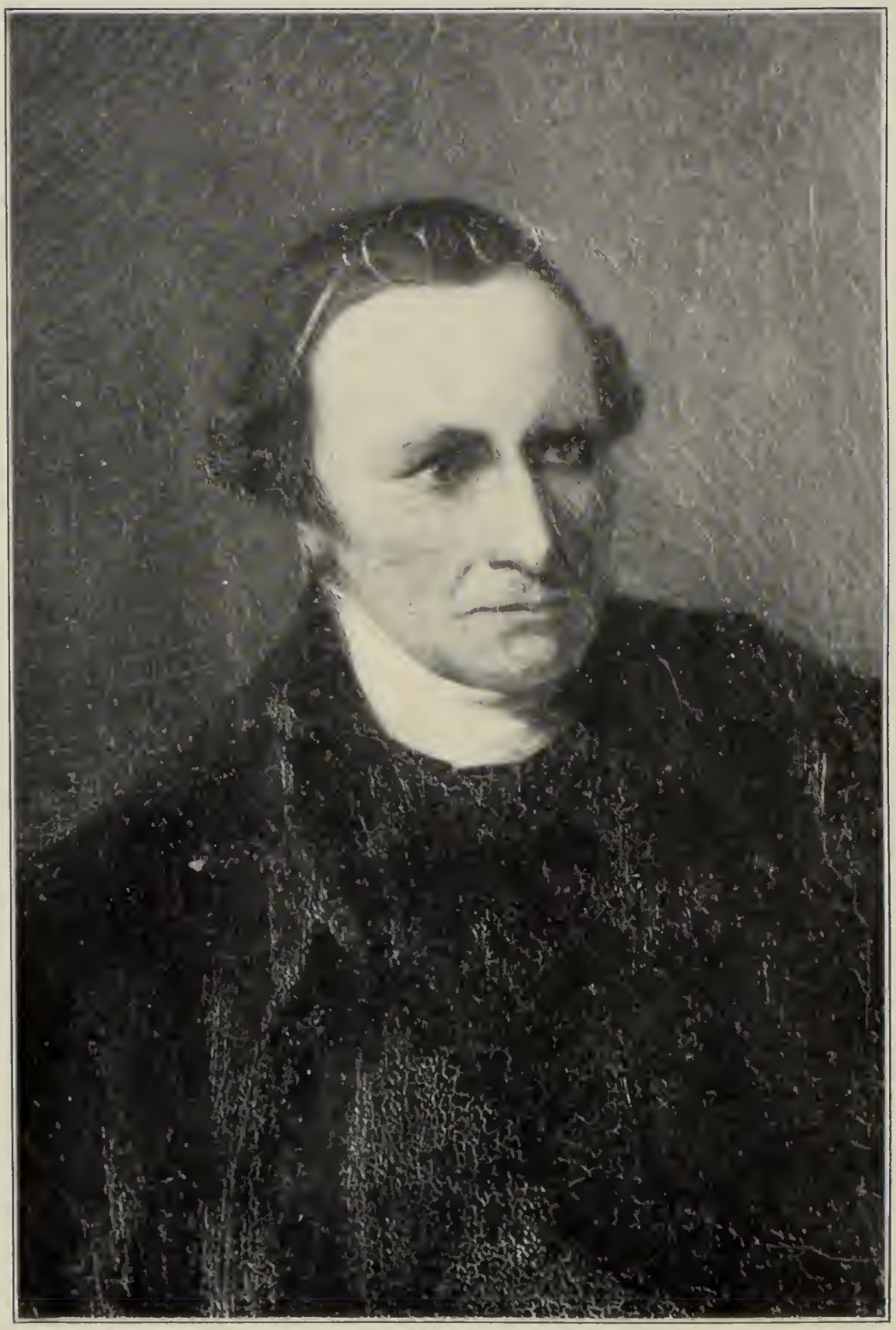

Fig. 34. Patrick Henry, painted by Thomas Sully, in possession of Charles L. Hamilton, Esq., Phila.

I have been shown a painting of the late Mr. Henry painted by Mr. Sully now in possession of Mr. Webster which I think a good likeness

J. Marshall
Dec. 30th 1846

I agree with Mr. Marshall in his opinion above expressed

Francis Corbin

Jan. 2d 1847.

I agree with the above gentlemen in their opinions respecting the late Mr. Henry's likeness

4th June 1847 John Buchanan

Fig. 35. Endorsement of Thomas Sully's Portrait of Patrick Henry.

Fleming, who bore the name of her husband, the half-brother of Patrick Henry, and from him it descended on his death, in 1858, to his son John Syme Fleming, its recent owner, so that its history and pedigree are perfect. John Syme Fleming the elder was a distinguished lawyer in Virginia and a man of the first consequence, while his son of the same name holds the chair of Mathematics in the Virginia Mechanics Institute in Richmond, so that the miniature has not been in the ownership of unknown persons, but always in the possession of persons of consideration in their community, which is a most important element in the pedigree of portraits and other objects of vertu. The absurdity of Mr. William Wirt Henry's statement, followed by the auctioneer, that Sully copied this miniature, with some slight alterations as to the wig, must be manifest to any one comparing the two portraits or, more correctly, the portrait and the picture, for a painting of a man, while it may be an effigy of that man, cannot be a portrait unless it is from life or directly copied from a life portrait. These two are wholly unlike, being entirely different faces. The painting by Thomas Sully depicts a much younger man than the miniature by Lawrence Sully; the pose, features and expression are wholly different and the ensemble is so strikingly like Dance's portrait of Captain Cook that assurance is given of the correctness of the story that this is what Sully copied with some changes suggested by Henry's contemporaries. If Thomas Sully ever saw the miniature painted by his elder brother he could have used it, if at all, only for some of the details of dress, such as the color of the gown, both being red, but in the miniature it is vermillion, while in the oil portrait it is a much darker shade. Was the Sully oil portrait, however, as exact a copy of the miniature as the most accomplished artist could make in the days of long ago without the assistance of the camera for making the enlargement, it could never be anything but a copy, while the ivory miniature remains the only known original portrait of Patrick Henry painted from life, when the artist and the sitter faced each other, a priceless historical treasure.

# SOME MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF HORSES AND HORSESHOES.

By Prof. Charles E. Dana.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society, November 20, 1911.*)

At the meetings of The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society you are accustomed to the truth, possibly not the whole truth every time, but certainly nothing but the truth. What follows has one redeeming trait, it is unreliable from beginning to end, though let me assure you, no effort on my part has been made to accomplish that result. Anything that is true is an accident, and for it I apologize. Yet this much I can say, that whatever you hear has at *some* time been believed by *some* people; that sounds like a weak attempt to make *you* believe it, but it isn't. I prefer to accept the dictum of one of the cleverest men I ever met, and what is far better, one blessed with a keen sense of humor. He said to me on a never-to-be-forgotten day, far out on the desert, 'neath the shade of a group of palms, "My dear Dana, you don't think I am truthful." In that he was absolutely right. "Why," he continued, "I'm one of the most truthful men you ever met, when necessary,—but my dear fellow, how seldom it is necessary."

There must be a horse before a horseshoe can be of much practical use, though I know some Turks who had a human servant or two shod by a blacksmith and made to run afterwards, just *pour encourager les autres*. So I shall skim rapidly over a few perfectly unreliable—well, histories, about the noblest of animals—after the dog and the donkey, aye, a long way after, and the very silliest of animals, as well as the one whose evil influence over man exceeds even that of politics.

No complete family tree of the horse can be prepared; we get a glimpse of a small creature, only a little larger than a rabbit, with five digits on his hind and fore paws,—that was in the Eocene division of the Tertiary period; but frankly, you had better skip geology, for you have a long and dreary evening before you without burrowing into geology.

Here is a perfectly reliable account of the first taming of a horse: date more than uncertain,

> In whose time reigned also in Thes-sayle,
> A parte of Greece, the kyng Meli-zy-us,
> That was right strong and fierce in battaile;
> By whose labours, as the storye sheweth us,
> He brake first horses, wilde and rigorous,
> Teaching his men on them right wel to ryde;
> And he himselfe did first the horse bestride.
> —*Hawes*: "The Passe-tyme of Plesure," 1515.

In the records of Babylonia it is stated that horses were first employed in that great city about the year 1500 B. C. The Libyans, however, must have broken horses to harness centuries before that, and learned to ride them with some skill, for it is proved beyond all doubt that the women of Lybia rode, and rode astride as far back as the seventeenth century B. C.

Some remains of horses, it is said, have been found in England, at Walthamstow, in Essex, which, if true, would go far to prove that horses were domesticated in the Neolithic age.

Erichthonius, according to Virgil, was the first to drive a four-in-hand, for in the third book of his "Georgies" we are told how,

> "Bold Erichthonius first four coursers yok'd
> And urg'd the chariot as the axle smok'd."

Rather a risky proceeding and one from which we may conclude that bold Erichthonius would have flouted the axiom promulgated recently by the more prudent members of a well-known coaching club, that "no team ought to be driven faster than ten miles an hour, upon an average."

This, from Homer, suggests our modern circus. "As when a man that well knows how to ride, harnesses up four chosen horses, and springing from the ground dashes to the great city along the public highway, and crowds of men and women look on in wonder, while he, with all confidence, as his steeds fly on, keeps leaping from one to another."

This is even better. The luxurious Sybarites in Southern Italy trained all their horses to dance to the sound of the flute. A war broke out between them and the inhabitants of Croton. These last equipped their military bands with flutes and confidently marched to war. On came the splendidly mounted

Sybarites; the Crotonian flutes struck up a merry tune, upon which the Sybarites' horses "instantly threw off their riders and began to skip and dance." The result may be imagined.

As time went on horsemanship came to be appreciated more and more, for, about 648 B. C.—the Thirty-third Olympiad—there was "a race for full grown riding horses," in addition to the chariot races; and there seems to have been plenty of entries.

The horses of Libya are known to have been controlled quite easily by noseb ands only. Some of the nosebands, or rather halters, used in early times were made of plaited straw; to-day similar halters are used in the more remote parts of Ireland.

*Bits* were first made of horn, then of bone and finally of bronze and of iron. Homer, in the "Iliad," alludes to bits of bronze placed between the horse's jaws. Xenophon has, of course, much to say of bits and bitting. In his excellent treatise on horsemanship he advises every rider to have two bits, one with links of moderate size and one with sharp and heavy links. "Whatever sorts of bits be used," he says, "they should be flexible, for where a horse seizes the rigid bit he has the whole of it fast between his teeth—but the other sort is similar to a chain, for whatever part be taken hold of, that part alone remains unbent—the rest hangs." It is evident that the Greeks of the fifth century B. C. were almost as fastidious upon the subject of bits and bittings as are some hunting men of to-day.

Although towards the end of the second century B. C. bareback riding was still quite common, a covering of some sort for the horse's back was becoming much more popular among the Greeks despite the adherence to bareback riding by the jockeys at the principal festivals.

Xenophon says that the hair on a horse's back should be combed down, as then the animal will be less hurt by the rider. It seems safe to say that somewhere about the fourth century B. C. the Romans began to use what we should call saddlecloths, and that these were kept in place by a strap or bandage in the nature of a girth. By the close of the fourth century A. D. the Romans had outgrown their prejudice against the use of saddles, for at about that time they are referred to frequently. In 380 A. D. the famous cavalry of Theodosius was mounted on horses provided with true saddles, that is to say, saddles with a tree, and with a bow in front and behind. Haydn says they are mentioned as made of leather in A. D. 304, and were known in England about

A. D. 600. The date of side-saddles seems a little uncertain. On a seal of Adele, comtesse de Soissons, date 1186, the lady is represented astride. On the seal of the Lady of Pierre Pertuse, date 1240, the lady is in a sort of hour-glass shaped bag that hangs on the off side of the horse. On the seal of Alix, duchesse de Brabant, date 1260, as far as one can tell, the lady is seated on a side-saddle of to-day, and she has quite the air of a good sport. Stow says that Anne, the wife of Richard II, introduced the side-saddle into England in the year 1388. Mr. Wright, in his "Domestic Manners of the Middle Ages," gives several illustrations from ancient drawings, showing ladies on horseback, both astride and sideways. He is of the opinion that ladies "were taught to ride both ways, the saddle being considered the most courtly, while it was thought safer to ride astride in the chase." In some of the earlier illustrations of riding sideways, the ladies seem to be seated on a kind of pillion, the legs hanging down side by side; later on, the feet are shown resting on a small board ("planchette"), as on the Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth.

Spurs are mentioned by Xenophon, say, B. C. 400; he calls them "horse-flies," or "gad-flies." These were the ordinary prick-spur which remained unchanged in principle until the adoption of the rowel-spur in the early part of the thirteenth century. Shown on the seal of Jean de Boury, 1225. In England it first appears on the seal of Henry III, of 1240.

Xenophon (B. C. 445–354) says there were two ways of mounting a horse, by the help of a lance, and without that aid. Roman soldiers were exercised, with or without armor, to spring on a horse from either side. Old men used the hand of a servant. Sapor I, King of Persia (A. D. 238–269), used the back of his captive, the Roman emperor, and when he tired of that, he flayed the unfortunate emperor alive; certainly a most ungrateful return for the emperor's kindness. Tamerlane the Tartar, a great warrior but a very bad and merciless ruler (†1405), used the Sultan Bajazed for the same purpose. Among certain tribes the horses were taught to kneel; but among the Romans public mounting stones were common.

In the middle ages it was considered, and very rightly so, a tremendous accomplishment for a knight clad in full armor to vault into the saddle of his huge war-horse without touching the stirrups. The armor weighed, at the very least, fifty pounds and probably more, so the feat required much practice, great agility,

unusual strength and in many cases a total disregard for truth. But there really are well authenticated cases of knights who were able to do this, though they are very rare.

Stirrups are said to have originated with the fierce Mongolian tribes that overran Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries, and stirrups are constantly found in their mound-graves with other horse trappings; the former are of iron and sometimes are covered with silver. The first documentary mention of them is by the Emperor Tiberius Mauritius, or Maurice, as Haydn calls him, a Byzantine emperor who was murdered with all his family in A. D. 602. He speaks of "iron stirrups," so the German author from whom I am now quoting thinks there may have been wooden ones amongst the Greeks that were far more ancient. Singularly enough the Emperor suggests both stirrups on one side, so that a military rider may take up and save a wounded comrade.

The English word "sty-rope" (Anglo-Saxon, *sti-rap* [*stigan* to mount, *ráp*, a rope], whence stirrup; German, "Steigbügel," *mount-strap*) suggests that straps and not iron stirrups were used in early times in England. The Bayeux Tapestry shows all the Normans using stirrups. The English at Hastings (A. D. 1066), as was their custom even as late as Crécy (A. D. 1346) and Agincourt (A. D. 1415), fought on foot.

The Knights of the Teutonic Order were forbidden to use any but wooden stirrups.

Xenophon (say 400 B. C.) gives for the value of a common horse, three minæ, about $36 then, now, one would suppose, at least fifteen times as much, though $540 does seem impossible. Bazil Tozer considers three minæ, the value of a common horse, to be about fifteen guineas of to-day. How he gets his figures for "to-day" I do not know, for trained war-horses ten minæ and upwards was paid. The prices of horses were so high that "horse owner" and "spendthrift" came to be deemed more or less synonymous. The same thing might possibly be said to-day.

There is a common error that the horses of the Greeks were smaller than ours, and the Parthenon frieze is taken as a proof thereof. The reason why the horses are so small is because, according to a standard rule of ancient Greek art, the heads of men and animals, as well as all other figures shown on such compositions, must be as nearly as possible upon a level. This rule, known as "Isokelismos," *had* to be observed, so no attempt should ever be made to compare the height of men and beasts shown in the

friezes and upon vases. By observing how far below the horses' bellies the feet of the mounted men hang, an approximate idea of the height of the men by comparison with that of some of their horses may possibly be arr ved at.

The esteem in which horses, especially war-horses, were held in the palmy days of Greek art may be gathered from the prominence given them on their wonderfully artistic coins. Some of the coins of Syracuse, dating back to 500 B. C. and even earlier, show the four-horse chariot or else mounted men.

I cannot close this part of my subject without taking a look at a few of the celebrated horses of, well, so-called "history."

The *Wooden Horse* of Troy is certainly among them. You all know how, after Hector's death, Ulysses commanded Epeios to construct a huge wooden horse that ostensibly was to be used as an offering to the gods to ensure a safe voyage back to Greece. How the simple-minded Trojans hauled it into their city, how at midnight the Greek soldiers concealed inside crept out, slew the Trojan guards and then opened the gates of Troy with very unpleasant consequences to the inhabitants of the city. So runs the story, but of course you all know that the Trojans never could have been such fools and that the "horse" was simply some sort of wall-smashing device called by that name.

The celebrated Bucephalus is said to have been quite aged when King Philip of Macedonia bought him for something like $17,500; certain writers say he was fourteen years old, though that seems hardly possible. Be that as it may, Bucephalus was given a public trial in the presence of the king, but "reared and plunged against them all so that the king, in a rage, bade them take him away for an utterly wild, unbroken brute." Then Alexander stepped forward, cried out that those who had attempted to ride him were "clumsy clowns," adding that "if they were not careful they would spoil the horse entirely." Philip at first paid no attention to his son, but as the lad refused to be quieted, demanded in a sharp tone how he dared to be so insolent. Alexander retorted that in this case he knew better than his elders, and that if his father would allow it he would prove it by mounting the horse and riding it round the ring. The lad's reply was received with shouts of laughter. This ridicule set him on his mettle; he ran into the arena and ordered the attendants aside; then, grasping the reins he began to pat the horse's neck and "soothe him with soft words." At the same time he gently moved the

horse so that he faced the sun, for Alexander had remarked that the animal grew restive at the sight of his own shadow. Next, he sprang up and bestrode him unharmed,—then gradually and very gently he made Bucephalus move round in a circle until the shadow ceased to frighten him; there followed, as a climax, a wild dash and a more sober return. Philip, as all ancients seem to have done either on or off the stage, "wept silently for pure joy," remarking in an audible aside, so that the reporters could hear, that Macedonia was "not big enough for such a son," so that he "must go look for a kingdom to match him."

The great painter Apelles made an equestrian portrait of Bucephalus and Alexander. The latter, probably a good judge of pictures, did not think much of it. Apelles was hurt, and brought in the horse, who neighed. You remember the rest. Now if the whole Bucephalus tale is as obvious a whopper as the Apelles part, I am glad I made things all right with you at the start.

I had almost forgotten *Pegasus*. The name comes from compact, strong. He sprang from the trunk of the Gorgon Medusa when her head was cut off by Perseus, and was captured by Bellerophon, the great hero of Corinthian legend. In this round-up he was assisted by Minerva, who also taught him how to tame and use his steed. At Corinth there was a temple erected to Minerva the Bridler, in allusion to that part of the myth which describes Minerva as instructing Bellerophon in the manner of placing the bridle on the winged steed. The legend states that the hero caught this wonderful animal as it descended at the Acro Corinthus to drink of the spring of Pirene. Mounted on his winged steed, Bellerophon succeeded in destroying that dire monster, the Chimera, by soaring up into the air and shooting down arrows upon the lion, goat and dragon headed beast; hardly sportsmanlike, but Chimeras have no right to demand fair play. This and other victories were too much for Bellerophon; ambition was his ruin, and he started to fly heavenward. Great Jove, presumably with a sardonic smile, placed a wicked gadfly on Pegasus' most tender spot. Aerial bucking was too much for his rider, and "the subsequent proceedings interested him no more."

Presumably Jupiter's apologies were accepted by Pegasus, as he has remained in the Olympian heaven ever since, his most important duties being connected with the electrical department, drawing the thunder-chariot, fetching lightning, etc.

When the Muses had their celebrated musical battle with the

daughters of Pierus (their birthplace), Mount Helicon rose heavenward with delight; Pegasus, feeling the impropriety of this action, gave Helicon a kick which brought it to its senses, and its tears of shame gushed forth in the "soul-inspiring waters of Hippocrene," the "Horse-spring," the Fountain of the Muses. The daughters of Pierus were turned into magpies, and if you have ever been intimate with a magpie, I am sure you will agree with me that they are often far better company than the Muses. The Encyclopædia Britannica says that Pegasus was not known to the ancients as the *Horse of the Muses*, that the attribute dates only from the "*Orlando Innamorato*" of Boiardo. published in 1495; so heaven help you if you contradict that.

The City of Corinth bore a Pegasus on its standard and coins. The arms of the Temple Church in London is a Pegasus, but it is said this is a case of mistaken identity. That magnificent Order of the Templars adopted for their seal two knights mounted on one horse, as an emblem of poverty; that was sly, but it failed; the emblem of poverty was so badly drawn—English art has somewhat improved since—that it was mistaken for the high-flyer Pegasus. Philippe le Bel and another potentate acted as gadflies—and the two knights fell, with all their brotherhood, 1308 to 1314, and a mighty fall it was,—more's the pity of it.

The Unicorn is one of the most famous of all the animals of antiquity, but has become so rare in our day that people, ignorant ones of course, sometimes doubt whether it still exists. It is repeatedly mentioned in the Scriptures, but is not fully described. Sir John Mandeville (†1372) also speaks of it. Coryat (A. D. 1616) saw two in the menagerie of the Grand Mogul, they were caught in Bengal he was told. The Anglo-Norman "Bestiarius" of Philippe de Thaun, early or middle twelfth century, says:

> Monoceros est beste
> Une corne a en la tete
> Cette beste en verite nous signifie Dieu.

There is a copy of this rare and reliable work in J. P. Morgan's library. All except pure virgins are warned to look out for this exceptionally dangerous animal. The only way to capture the unicorn was to place a handsome young virgin in one of his haunts. As soon as he perceived her he would boldly approach, lie down beside her, resting his head in her lap, gaze upwards into her false eyes with a look full of misplaced confidence, and fall asleep.

The young person, I do not say lady, would then signal the hunters, who made quick work of the unicorn. I hesitate to express my views regarding such conduct; it was certainly outrageously unsportsmanlike.

The common form of unicorn is a horse with a long, twisted frontal horn, though the better bred ones have a lion's tail; sometimes the body is that of a donkey or even of a bull. The beasts of the forest always chose a unicorn for "water conner," none daring to taste of fountain or pool until he had stirred the water with his horn to discover whether any dragon or serpent had deposited his venom therein, and if such had been the case he thus rendered it innocuous. Needless to say these horns were of enormous value; even a few shavings answered the purification purpose. Think of the awful crime an old writer piteously tells of, "that wicked persons do make a mingle-mangle thereof, as I saw among the Venetians, being, as I here say, compounded with lime and sope, or peradventure with earth and some stone (which things are apt to make bubbles rise), and afterwards sell it for the unicorn's horn." Fortunately this same writer tells us of a sure method of testing this wicked fraud, "put silk upon a burning coal, and upon the silk the aforesaid horn, and if so be that it be true, the silk will not be a whit consumed." No doubt about that.

At the head of an inventory, of the first year of Queen Elizabeth (1558), stands "Imprimis, a piece of unicorn's horn." This may have been the piece seen by the German traveler Paul Hentzner (1558–1623) at Windsor; he says, "We were shown here, amongst other things, the horn of a unicorn of about eight spans and a half in length, valued at about £10,000!" A million and a half dollars of to-day! "One little cup of unicorn's horn" was also owned by Queen Elizabeth. This was subsequently given by unsavory James I to Queen Anne of Denmark. There are numerous mentions of unicorn horns in inventories, and Lassels, 1670, saw two pieces of the horn in a well, in the arsenal at Venice, put there to guard against poison. These uses of the horn, the great strength of the animal; its haughty mind, as it would rather die than be brought into subjection; the penchant it had for ungrateful young minxes, made the unicorn symbolical of many things: purity, chastity, virtue; the emblem of Christ, as the horn of our salvation. The horn as an antidote to all poisons became the emblem of the conquering or destruction of all sin by

the Messiah, and as such appears in the Catacombs of Rome. It was a supporter for the apothecaries' arms, a signboard for chemists, and, on account of its great value, for goldsmiths. The unicorn does not appear on the Scotch arms as a supporter until the time of Mary Stuart, although it is found on the coins at an earlier date.

The Kelpie of the Scottish highlands is called the "angry Spirit of the Waters." He was a sort of horse-fiend, who lured riders to mount him by his attractive appearance, and then bore them off to where he could devour them at his leisure. He was supposed to lurk among the kelp, or sea-weed, which in some coasts grows to a great height and assumes all sorts of fantastic and weird forms. These strange shapes, especially when seen after dusk, and the constant howling of the ocean, may have had something to do with the legend.

The steeds of Neptune are favorite subjects in ancient poetry and art. The imagination of the Greeks pictured them in the rolling, bounding waves, the dashing "white-caps," as they pursue each other in haste to the shore, "curling their monstrous heads," these countless horses of Poseidon. The Greek origin of the horse was, as you all know, the contest between Poseidon and Athenæ as to who should make to mankind the most useful present; Neptune created the horse, Minerva the olive-tree. You who have been to Naples know the queer little sea-horses for sale in all directions. "Cavalli-marini," the Neapolitans call them, "horse-marines," an English traveler translates the name. They are much in demand for nursing mothers and mad dogs. I hope you see the connection. I don't.

Please observe how far beyond us were the ancients: they recognized immediately the convenience and comfort of winged horses, and, though only a few absolutely reliable accounts of them have come down to us, they were no doubt in common use amongst the wealthy. Just think how backward we are, one is ashamed to acknowledge it, only a few years ago the flying horse was practically unknown amongst us. Mid the ancients there were several breeds of winged steeds; one of the handsomest was the hippogryph, whose father was a gryphon and his mother a filly; but the most remarkable of all, perhaps, was *el Borak*, the Mohammedan Pegasus. Of course every detail about this steed is reliable, for we all know the unswerving truthfulness of the Oriental. "Ma'

alesh," what difference does it make? is one of his favorite expressions; who could doubt his word?

*Alborak*, or *Boraq*, meaning "the bright one," is usually spoken of as a horse, though that seems an injustice, as he appears to slightly resemble that infinitely superior animal, the donkey. Buraq was a white creature with two wings; in size he was between a mule and a donkey; in appearance not unlike the Assyrian gryphon. It was upon this nondescript that Mohammed performed his famous nocturnal journey. According to some writer, just as the Prophet was leaving the house he accidentally overturned a vase which started to fall. Mohammed then visited quite a list of heavens and was obliged to return several times to one of them, yet,—now note the practical detail introduced showing the extreme accuracy of the Oriental mind, a sure proof of the truthfulness of the tale,—as he re-entered his house, the journey finished, Mohammed was just in time to prevent the falling vase that he had started—from completing the act!

Please remember that what follows is a careful, though very much abbreviated account of one of the important tenets of el Islam, and that no levity is intended on my part. The account is from the *Mishkatu el Masahib*, a book of Sunni tradition, with which I should be sorry to think any of you were not familiar; this nocturnal journey is also mentioned in the Koran. The Archangel Gabriel came to Mohammed and prepared him for his journey. All being ready, el Borak was brought round to the door, and away they went. The steed was fleet, as you may imagine from the fact that each step he made extended as far as the eye could reach. They first mounted to the lowest heaven, where Gabriel demanded that the door be opened. "Who is there?" was asked from within. "I am Gabriel." And they then said, "Who is with you?" He answered, "It is Mohammed." They said, "Has Mohammed been called to the office of a prophet?" He said, "Yes." The voice inside replied, "Welcome Mohammed, his coming is well." Then the door was opened . . . and, behold, he saw Adam. And Gabriel said to Mohammed, "This is your father Adam, salute him," which he did. Then they proceeded to the second heaven, where the same ceremonies took place and he saw Jesus and John, sisters' sons. In the third he met Joseph. In the fourth, Enoch. In the fifth, Aaron. In the sixth, Moses. In the seventh, Abraham. There he saw a tree called Sidratu el Muntaha, and he saw four rivers there, two

hidden and two manifest. At that moment the divine orders for prayers came to Mohammed, *fifty* were to be said every day. On his return he again passed by Moses, and Moses warned him that it would be utterly impossible to get his people to say fifty prayers a day. After several efforts on the part of Mohammed the number was reduced to five,—"Then," Mohammed tells us, "when I passed out from that place, a crier called aloud, 'I have established my divine commandments, and have made them easy to my servants.' "

Boraq is the only animal the Muslims are allowed to depict, and it is reasonably certain that Boraq resembles nothing either in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. You know that if a Muslim makes a portrait, or effigy of a living creature, at the last day his artistic creation will appear and demand a soul from him; as few painters are farseeing enough to provide themselves with a sufficient supply of extra souls, the unfortunate artist is dragged by his heels to "Jahannam," which is, I assure you, a lurid and most unpleasant place.

There are many precursors of the flying machine, more or less like the one that belonged to Cambuscan, King of Arabia, "a steed of brass, which between sunrise and sunset would carry its rider to any spot on earth." To accomplish this, all that was necessary was for the rider to whisper in its ear where he wished to go, then to turn a pin set in the ear of the horse, and away they went.

Ba-bi-e-ca was the celebrated horse of the Spanish hero of romance, *Rodrigue Diaz de Bivar*, better known as the *Cid Campeador;* Cid comes from the Arab word *Said*, lord, chief, commander; *campeador* means warrior. The 102 ballads date from 1207. The Cid is supposed to have been born at Burgos in 1030, and to have died in 1099. His tomb and that of Babieca are to be seen there—for a consideration.

King Arthur's horse was named *Spumador*, "the foaming one." Arthur is of very considerable interest, for there is reason to suppose that he was a real person,—not because of the detailed account by Giraldus of the finding and opening of his tomb at Glastonbury bearing the inscription, "Hic jacet . . . ," or Englished, "Here lies Arthur, the King, the glory of his Kingdom . . . " etc. Beside him was found the tomb of Queen Guinevere, the disturbing element in the tale. Her neatly braided golden hair fell to dust as soon as the light and air touched it.

Joseph of Arimathea also forms one of the Glastonbury group. "Here lies," might with perfect truth be applied to the historian, but "Hic jacet" would not be the Latin translation of lies of that sort.

Since "the foaming one"—the name seems more applicable to a mug of beer—has trotted Arthur upon our stage, let me say a word or two about him. Nennius, a Welsh monk who wrote about A. D. 800, tells us much of Vortigern, a comparatively unmythical British king, who caused much trouble because of his love for the lady Rowena. Vortigern's general was named Arthur, and is described as "dux bellorum," which means leader or general. Later he is called "miles," knight, so in all probability he was not of royal blood. Nennius himself began the building up of the romantic hero-story. When in the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth refers to it, the epic is already fully developed. A succession of popular legends, the heroes of which were homeless and shadowy, were hung on to the biography of Arthur, which is by no means an unusual habit with historians; think of the cases in our own day, Washington and Lincoln for example. One of the last Arthurian legends is the story of Perceval, or the Holy Graal; this was written for Count Philip of Flanders, somewhere about 1160, by Chretien de Troies, who contributed 10,601 lines to the poem. Soon after his death, one Gaucher, or Gautier, added more than 20,000 lines to it. Manessier brought it up to 45,000 lines; then came Gerbert, who added 15,000 "verses," so that now there are upwards of 65,000 lines.

By the way, the earliest example of a coat-of-arms that exists as far as we now know, hangs from a charter granted by this same Count Philip of Flanders, and bears the date 1164. The device upon the shield is a rampant lion, the arms of Flanders to-day.

I am both sorry and ashamed that I cannot give you an accurate description of the rival of "Pegasus," the "witches' broom." For some unaccountable reason, as far as I have been able to find, none of the old writers gives a detailed account of this most interesting steed, yet it was common enough in their day. Brand says that the notion of witches riding on broomsticks through the air seems to be associated with that loved poem of our infancy, describing the old woman who went up in a basket to brush the cobwebs off the sky with her broom. There was an old superstition mid the people about Birmingham that the birch trees near there were

garages in which the hooked-nosed ladies with steeple-crowned hats kept their brooms. A noted professor of Birmingham University, after much study, completely shattered this theory. A somebody Scot, possibly Patrick, who was a friend of King James I, that most objectionable of kings who so hated witches, wrote a book called "Discovery," early in the seventeenth century. Possibly "Mares'-Nests" might have been a better name. This absolutely reliable writer tells us how, "the devil teacheth the witches to make an ointment of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the air and accomplish all their desires." Sir Matthew Hale, judge, died 1676, remarked to an old woman whom he acquitted, that she could go away, and that it did not matter whether she walked on the ground or passed through the air.

The knights of old were very human and quite modern in some of their notions. Monsieur Jusserand in his book, "Les Sports et Jeu d'Exercise," describes a sort of war-game they played in France in the twelfth century, the arena for which comprised a number of square miles of territory. One of the chief aims of the knights was to capture the war-horse of an opponent, because it paid. The successful one, if alone, would be much embarrassed by his magnificent, immensely valuable, but impossible-to-keep-still prize. Just in the nick of time a knightly friend often turned up and offered to take charge of the capture. When evening came, and accounts were squared, a broken-kneed Rosinante would be tendered to the disgusted victor as the superb war-horse he had captured in the morning. The events immediately following were apt to be stormy,—somewhat.

Paul Jove, the historian, speaking of the entrance of the French under King Charles VIII, into Rome, about 1494, says their horses were large and strong, the mane and ears were cut, as the French think this makes the horse appear more terrible. He adds that the steeds were about "six palms, 4 doights high." I make that six feet one inch. It almost seems as though an elevator would be required to mount a horse of such a skyscraper height. The "cutting of the ears" was only trimming, and was a custom in Germany as well as in France at the end of the fifteenth century.

It is almost impossible to tell with any degree of accuracy by the study of contemporaneous pictures, the size of horses two

hundred or more years ago; the animals were not sufficiently studied and are in most cases carelessly drawn.

In "The Horse," by Berjeau, London, 1864, an author who has made a careful study of the subject, we read that the horse in the picture of the Margraf Albert, by Lucas Cranach, is only comparable to the steed of English brewer's wagon. Albrecht Duerer he finds somewhat better but clumsy. The horses even of Titian, Velasquez and Vandyck are far from the animals of Rosa Bonheur, Fromentin or others of to-day. Sculptors were better, but certainly the horse Colleoni bestrides is not particularly carefully studied, yet he forms part of the most perfect equestrian statue the world contains.

A few words about horse funerals, sacrifices, the horse used for food, etc., will appropriately close the first part of our subject.

In the early Iron Age a charioteer, if his heirs were sufficiently unselfish, was often sent forth into the unknown provided with the means to continue his favorite pastime, his chariot and horses, or either of them, being buried with him. Numerous instances of this custom have been found in the burial mounds of the ancient Scythians, Scandinavians, Franks, as well as in England. A passage in Virgil seems to prove that the practice obtained in the classic times also. Æneas, on his descent into the lower regions, viewed with wonder the empty chariots of the chiefs, and the horses feeding at large on the plain,—these had evidently been supplied by their thoughtful heirs at the time of the chiefs' interment.

Once acquainted with the ancient instances, one can account for the atavism which here and there betrays itself. When Bertrand Duguesclin, or rather a certain large portion of him, was buried in St. Denis, "several horses which had been previously blessed by the Bishop of Auxerre, were sacrificed, or, as one account says, compounded for by the owners" ("Byways of British Archæology," p. 431). Mr. Thomas Sheffield, a surgeon, who died 1798, at Downton, Wilts, left instructions that he should be interred in his garden, and that when his horse died it was to be laid beside him. His wishes were carried out, but in 1807 Mr. Sheffield was transferred to the parish churchyard,—presumably his horse was not. In 1866 one of Queen Victoria's huntsmen died; his favorite horse was shot, its ears cut off and placed in his master's coffin. The Duke of Wellington's war-

horse *Copenhagen* was buried with military honors in 1836, sixteen years before the duke departed.

The sacrifice of a horse in ancient times was a most solemn event and attended with much ceremony. Even among our Indians valuable horses were sacrificed to propitiate the "corn" spirit. The Greeks deemed the neighing of a horse an omen of good. In Germany divination by means of the horse lasted until the seventh century, for when St. Gall died (A. D. 646, born in Ireland, became "the Apostle to the Swiss") unbroken horses were entrusted with his coffin and given entire liberty to select his burial place.

It is said that the reason why flesh of the horse, one of the cleanest feeders known, has been stringently prohibited as food by Christian teachers, no such prohibition having existed before Christian times, is because of "our pagan ancestors employing the animal in sacrifices and auguries and eating his flesh in the subsequent repasts." But even if that be true, why does not the same rule apply to other and commoner sacrificial animals, the bullock, ram, lamb, etc. Some of you no doubt will urge that I have not given the true reason, which is, that horse-meat was the chosen food of giants and witches. The Palæolithic cave-man considered horse-flesh an essential at any well ordered repast, so did Romans and Britons, or at least they relished it; even the monks of St. Gall ate it and gave thanks in Latin for the privilege. No law of Christ forbids horse-flesh, yet by Pope Gregory III (ruled A. D. 731 to 741) eating it was condemned as an unclean and execrable act. Even as late as 1739 the sale of horse-flesh was prohibited in Paris, and it was not until 1814–1816 it was allowed to be sold by certain privileged persons, scarcity of food having much to do with the relaxation of the rule.

In Teutonic fairy tales the horse's skull worked miracles, especially when played upon as an instrument; witches threw it into the midsummer fire; Russian magic makes ambrosia, that food of the gods which rivals even the American breakfast cereals in its strength-giving qualities, come out of a horse's head, and enables its possessor to do deeds of impossible prowess. Tacitus tells us that the ancient German tribes hung the heads of animals on trees as offerings to Odin. In certain parts of Germany horses' heads were buried in stables, in Holland they were hung over pigstyes, in Mecklenburg they were placed under sick men's pillows. In Lower Saxony and elsewhere horses' heads, pro-

jecting outwards, were carved on the gables of stables ostensibly for ornament, but in reality, it is suspected, to protect the horses within.

Horses' heads were supposed to possess remarkable acoustic properties,—but although we have merely skimmed the surface of the mass of the quaint folk-lore of the horse, this must suffice; any of you who wish to go deeper into it will find much of interest in "The Cult of the Horse," in "Byways in British Archæology." Let us now glance at some of the very interesting blacksmiths, and at the shoes of the much be-legended steeds.

One summer day many centuries ago, St. Dunstan, who among other talents was noted for his skill in shoeing horses, was accosted by a gentleman who wanted his single hoof shod. The Devil in those early days when legends were forming, was exceeding dull, and the fact of his having one hoofed foot and one natural foot made him at the same time conspicuous and lame. Let me pause to say that among scientists there is a diversity of opinion on the subject of the exact appearance and anatomy of his Satanic Majesty, some describe him with tail, horns, hoofs, snout and beard, while others are very flattering,—but be that as it may, St. Dunstan saw in a moment with whom he had to deal and arranged accordingly. Remarking with indifference that he must have a steady hoof to work on, he tied that of the Devil tight to a tree and then proceeded with his job, but carefully put his victim to so much pain that he roared and yelled for mercy. St. Dunstan was inexorable till the Devil promised faithfully that he never would enter any place on which a horseshoe was displayed.

I always endeavor to confine myself to unquestioned historic data like the above so that you may have equal confidence in all that follows. This, as you see, starts the horseshoe off consistently on its anti-witchcraft, anti-diabolus career.

A word about the horseshoe itself before plunging into the array of legends connected with it. It is said ("Byways in British Archæology," p. 423) that Roman horses in the first century B. C. wore a sort of sandal made of reeds, hemp or more rarely of leather, but quite possibly this was only for special occasions. One writer of authority thinks that thin iron plates were attached to these sandals, forming a sole. Some archæologists hold that the very modern looking Roman horseshoe, sometimes even with calkins (heels) dates back to the time just mentioned. A horseshoe was found in the tomb of Childeric I,

of France (d. A. D. 481), with four nail-holes on each side, and such shoes seem to have come into general use in the early part of the century following. Circular horseshoes are occasionally found in the English fens; it is not impossible that these may be Saxon; they are of a form not uncommon to-day for horses with a weak heel or "toe."

Hippo-sandals of iron, to be worn as splints when the hoof had been broken, or by horses with delicate hoofs, were also known to the Romans, and specimens are to be seen in several museums. Viollet-le-Duc gives a description of similar sandals that were used by the knights of the Middle Ages, most probably for the same purpose.

There is reason to believe that the earliest Moslem Arabs (A. D. 622), or those of a generation later, shod their horses, as it is stated that the iron ornament on the top of the standard of Hosein (grandson of Mohammed) at the battle of Kerbela, from "KERB," *anguish* and "BELA," *vexation.* "Trouble and affliction," said Husain when he heard of it (A. H. 61, A. D. 680). It is thought this was made from a horseshoe belonging to Abbas, uncle of Mohammed, by order of his daughter Fatima. Charlemagne is said to have been able to break a horseshoe,—but, could he make one? William the Conqueror, some say, introduced the custom of shoeing horses into Britain, but 1066 seems rather late.

Now to return to the *makers* of horseshoes. The greatest of all smiths was *Wayland the Smith.* The Scandinavians—and he was one of them—call him Voelundr, the Germans call him Wieland. Wayland is mentioned in the oldest songs of the Edda, which as you know is quite a venerable Scandinavian book and entirely out of print now; in fact, some put the Edda as early as the eleventh century, Saemund Sigfusson editor. Wayland's manners were unquestionably peculiar, but he lived in the days when the world was large, so do not judge him too harshly; at any rate, his story is far from commonplace.

Adopting the Saxon name, Wayland had two brothers, Egill and Slagfithr; they were the sons of the giant sailor Wate and a mermaiden. One day the three brothers happened to surprise three swan-maidens who had divested themselves of their feather dresses, and had thus become three very beautiful young ladies taking a bath,—costume of Mother Eve. The brothers managed to secure the feather dresses, so, escape being impossible, the

three maidens were induced to become the wives of the brothers. Seven or eight years of domesticity ensued, when, happening to find their feather coats, the ladies became swans again and disappeared forever from their bereaved spouses.

Egill and the brother with the unpronounceable name went in pursuit of their ladies, but Wayland settled down contentedly as a grass-widower and became the Vulcan of Scandinavian mythology. His father had entrusted him when young to the elves who toiled deep in the mountains mid the metals, and from them he learned his art, as well as from Mime, the same person, presumably, that you have met in the opera of the Rheingold. Wayland employed his leisure making gold rings, presents for his errant wife if she returned. These rings he strung upon a willow wand and took great pleasure in counting them. King Nithothr of Nowhere, or as one account gives it, King Niduth of Sweden, heard of Wayland's marvelous skill and determined to get possession of him, as such a smith was a great prize in those days. So Niduth set out with a strong force, arrived at Wayland's hut in Ulfdal. ("No, I don't know where that is.") Wayland was out hunting, so, taking advantage of his absence, King Niduth with exemplary modesty helped himself to a ring, but to only one; this he purposed to take to his beloved daughter, the beautiful Beadchild. Wayland returned shortly after, built a fire to cook a bear-steak, glanced at his stick of rings and discovered the theft; but at that moment Niduth re-entered with his followers, bound Wayland and carried him, his rings and tools off to Sweden. Fearing that Wayland might escape, by the advice of the queen, Niduth hamstrung him; then he built a forge for him on a small island where he was compelled to work for the king and where no one was allowed to visit him.

Now Wayland resented this treatment and determined on revenge;—his chance soon came to him. The greediness of the king's two sons was excited by the reports of the enormous wealth stored in Wayland's island; so, unknown to their father, they secretly visited it. Wayland showed them the treasure, and it proved even greater than they had dreamed of. The smith most cordially welcomed the boys when at his invitation they came back next morning; then he smilingly cut off their heads, making them into drinking cups for the king, skulls being the very latest fashion of the day. Of their eyes he made jewels for the queen;—we have "cat's eyes," why not lad's eyes? Of their teeth he made

a charming pearl collar for the beautiful Princess Beadchild. The young lady happened to break her ring, so, to conceal the accident from her father, she also went secretly to the forge and prayed Wayland to mend it. He, to complete his revenge, sent the princess home dishonored; then, attaching a pair of wings which he had prepared in secret, he soared away, stopping only long enough to tell the king and queen,—as he perched, bird-like, on an inaccessible pinnacle of the palace, how full to overflowing had been his revenge.

Book Second. In the parish of Uffington, in the western part of Berkshire, on the slope of a steep green hill, carved deep down into the chalk, is the figure, very rude and Saxon-like, of a huge white horse, some 374 feet long and covering about two acres. It is said to have been cut to commemorate a victory gained by King Ethelred and his brother Alfred (who later became Alfred the Great) over the Danes in A. D. 871. The flag of the men of Kent at Hastings bore the White Horse, and it is the badge of the Kent regiment of to-day. Among the ancient Teutons and Celts the White Horse was believed to be beloved of the gods. Tacitus tells us that some were kept in consecrated woods and were never degraded by being put to any kind of work. In the Apocalypse it is the symbol of victory. In heraldry it is one of the most ancient devices, and is the emblem of Westphalia and of Kent,—not to mention that it figures largely as an inn sign on the Continent and in England. If the White Horse on White Horse Hill had been left to its own devices it would long ago have disappeared, as many other white horses have, beneath the kindly sod, but from time immemorial there has existed a custom of "Scouring the White Horse;"—for which, see the delightful book of that name by the author of "Tom Brown's School Days."

About a mile from the White Horse is "Wayland Smith's Cave." We saw him, certainly a very early aviator, leaving Sweden for extremely good reasons, and what more likely than that he took refuge in savage Britain. The "Cave" had been the sepulchre of some early Briton, and consisted of two large chambers formed of upright stones, roofed with slabs, which were in earlier times, probably, covered with a mound of earth. This is the only monument of the kind directly named in an Anglo-Saxon document; it happened to be on a Roman road which formed the boundary line between two estates, so previous to the Norman Conquest it is mentioned as "*Welandes Smiththan.*"

And now let me introduce you to Wayland himself; that's one of the advantages of unreliable history, the people are real, while in real history the people are usually shadows.

When Wayland arrived in Britain he took his rightful position of a god, and a very important one. His temples were everywhere, from Lincolnshire to the Isle of Wight, and his sacrifices were simply scandalous. By the way, if anyone should think there is a weak suggestion of Kipling in what follows, I beg that he will not mention it, even to his nearest neighbor. Wayland, to do him justice, preferred horses to men for sacrifices. He had his altars, his priests and his congregations. Then there came a great change and the old gods, the Druids, and all their worship seemed ended; but a religion never ends, it develops. Poor Wayland's come-down was terrible, and he had to betake himself to the Keltic cave, near the White Horse,—might it not have been his sign?—and support himself by his trade.

An old fat farmer, one day, came riding along under the green-wood tree. His horse had cast a shoe in the clay, and when he reached the ford, he dismounted, took a penny from his purse, laid it on a stone, tied the old horse to an oak, and called out: "Smith, Smith, here's work for you!' Then he sat down and went to sleep. This was the usual custom. Out came a white-bearded, bent old blacksmith from behind the oak, and began to shoe the horse. He had a wonderful touch with horses, and this old beast in a moment was whinnying on his shoulder. Wayland had not been a gentle god in the days of his power, and now he was suffering for his sins, as it was decreed that he never could escape and get to Valhalla till some human being truly wished him well. When the horse was shod the sleepy, surly farmer rode away without a word of thanks.

But the horse had been bewitched, and round and round he went the livelong night despite the yells, the prayers, the imprecations of the farmer. As dawn began to break a young novice from the neighboring convent strode up and asked what was amiss. The farmer spun him a wonderful tale about fairies and goblins and witches. "But the novice wasn't a fool; he looked down at the horse's feet and saw the new shoes fastened as only Wayland could fasten them; he had a way of turning down the nails that people called the Smith's clinch. 'H'm!' said the novice. 'Where did you get your horse shod?' The farmer wouldn't tell him at first, because the priests never liked their people to

have any dealings with the old gods. 'What did you pay the Smith'? said the novice. 'Penny,' said the farmer, very sulkily. 'That's less than a Christian would have charged,' said the novice. 'I hope you threw a thank-you into the bargain.' 'No,' said the farmer, 'Wayland's Smith's a heathen.' 'Heathen or no heathen,' said the novice, 'you took his help, and where you get help there you must give thanks. . . .'' So back to the oak he had to go. When he got there the farmer simply wouldn't say 'Thank you.' Then Hugh the novice lost his temper. He just cried, 'Out!' put his arm under the farmer's fat leg, and heaved him from his saddle onto the turf, and before he could rise the novice caught him by the back of the neck and shook him like a rat till the farmer growled, 'Thank you Wayland-Smith.'

''Then the novice turned to the oak and said, 'Ho! Smith of the Gods, I am ashamed of this rude farmer; but for all you have done in kindness and charity to him and to others of our people, I thank you and wish you well.' Wayland laughed and cried with joy, he had been released at last and could join the other gods in Valhalla. 'I shall give that novice a gift,' said Wayland, 'a gift that shall do him good the wide world over, and Old England after him. Blow up my fire while I get the iron for my last task.' Then he made a sword—a dark gray, wavy lined sword . . . . He cooled the sword in running water twice, and the third time he cooled it in the evening dew. He laid it in the moonlight and said runes over it, and he carved runes of prophecy on the blade; and he knew it was the best blade he had ever made.

''Then he strode up to the monastery and into the dormitory where the monks slept. There lay Hugh the novice asleep in his cot, and Wayland put the sword into his hand, and the young fellow gripped it in his sleep. Then Wayland strode as far as he dared into the chapel, and threw down all his shoeing tools—his hammers, pincers, and rasps. It sounded like suits of armor falling. The sleepy monks came running in; the novice came first of all, waving his new sword and shouting Saxon battle-cries.

''When he told the abbot what had happened, what he had said to Wayland-Smith, how he had found the rune-carved-sword in his cot, the good abbot smilingly said, 'Son Hugh, it needed no sign from a heathen god to show me that you would never be a monk. Take your sword, and keep your sword, and go with your sword, and be as gentle as you are strong and

courteous. We will hang up the Smith's tools before the altar, because whatever the Smith of the Gods may have been in old days, we know that he worked honestly for his living and made gifts to Mother Church.' " And so exit Wayland the Smith. (From Kipling's "Puck of Pouk's Hill.")

Among the Celtic tribes the Druids reserved the monopoly of working in metals; and the occupation of the iron-worker or blacksmith being claimed by that primitive priesthood, it may then have possessed a sacred or mysterious character that invested it with much importance, entitling the shoer of horses to high rank and privileges. The Celts were excellent horsemen, passionately fond of horses, and good workers in iron. That horses were shod, and that the shoer maintained his mystic character and privileges is proved by the Welsh triad of laws, revised on the banks of the Tav, by Howell the Good A. D. 911, though of course these may have been in existence for centuries before. By these laws, the Court Smith, while in the palace, was allotted a seat on the end of the bench near the priest of the household; he was protected from the time he began work in the morning till he quit at night; he was presented with clothes for what he did for the officers of the palace; he was entitled to the first liquor that came into the hall; he was to have food for himself and his servant from the palace, as well as the heads and feet of all animals slaughtered there; these are but a few of the Smith's privileges.

In the three codes it is ordained that there were three arts which a *taeog* or vilein was not to teach his son without the express permission of his lord, scholarship, smithcraft and bardism, for, if the lord were passive until the tonsure was performed on the scholar, or until the smith entered the forge, or until the bard graduated in song, he could not afterwards enslave any of them. It is elsewhere stated that there were three free sons of the bond, a clerk, a bard and a smith. There were also three things which if found on the road the finder might keep, a horseshoe, a needle and a penny.

The Anglo-Saxons shod their horses with small-sized shoes, probably for the reason that the race of horses was then but small. Such shoes have often been dug up at Battle Flats, near York, the scene of the fight between Harold and the Danes.

At the time of the Norman invasion (1066), Welbeck, in Nottinghamshire, was in the possession of a Saxon chief named Gamelhere, who was allowed to retain two carucates of land in

Cuckney (the caracute varied with the soil. Probably it was what could be tilled by a plow and team of eight oxen) on condition that he shod the King's palfreys upon all their feet, with the King's shoes and nails, whenever the King visited the Manor of Mansfield. If the smith put in all the nails, the King was to give him a palfrey worth four marks; if he lamed a horse he (the smith) was to replace it with one of like value.

The Normans brought many horses with them, as may be seen on the Bayeux Tapestry; no doubt the Saxon breed of cobs was greatly improved thereby. It is recorded that the Conqueror gave to Simon St. Liz the town of Northampton and the Hundred of Falkley, to provide shoes for his horses. Another follower, Henry de Ferraris, or Ferrers, is said to have received his name because entrusted with the shoeing of the king's horses, for which service he received the honor of Turbury, County Stafford, as well as other lands elsewhere. He was progenitor of the Earls Ferrars, and the first Earl of Derby; the badge of the family was a horseshoe.

The origin of this family name and office has been perpetuated by a curious custom. The shire-hall in the town of Oakham, Rutlandshire, built by Walkelin de Ferrars, was, and probably is now, embellished with a great number of horseshoes, which have been levied from travelers: "If any nobleman enter precinct or lordship, as a homage he is forfeit one of his horse's shoes, unless he redeem it with money." For centuries these shoes have been accumulating, so that the walls of the building were at one time covered with them. Many were gilt, having been given by monarchs or princes.

One of these earls, in the reign of King John, married a daughter of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, whose seal bore a horseshoe and nail. His duty was, during the early Norman period, "to see every morning and late at night that the king's horses were properly groomed and well shod." The original sense was a farrier or groom, but it soon rose to be a title of honor, like constable. Even kings did not consider it unworthy to learn the useful art of the smith, for feudality, it may be said, largely owed its existence to the smith. The massive horses required to carry riders ponderously armed, the animals themselves also encased in heavy armor, would soon have become lame and useless from undue hoof-wear under such a load, had they not been properly shod.

Of course all are familiar with the story of Robert Bruce. When he returned to London with King Edward in 1302, his associate Comyn had treacherously betrayed him, but a secret friend sent Bruce a present of a purse and a pair of spurs. Bruce understood the hint of danger together with the advice and promptly made his escape, deceiving his pursuers, Hollinshed tells us, by "causing a smith to shoo three horses for him contrarilie with the calking [heel] forward, that it should not be perceived which waie he had taken, by the track of the horses, for that the ground at that time was covered with snowe." Duke Christopher of Würtemberg, in 1530, when he escaped from the Emperor Charles V did the same. So also did King Alphonso of Spain when he escaped from Ali Maymon, King of Toledo.

Poppæa, the wife of Nero, had her favorite mule shod with golden shoes. When Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, one of the wealthiest princes of his time, went to meet the future wife of Godfrey of Lorraine, the horses of his escort were shod with silver shoes and nails. When any of these came off they were the property of the finder. Among the more recent instances is that of the English Ambassador, Lord Doncaster, entering Paris in 1616. His horse wore silver shoes so lightly tacked on that when he reached a spot where eminent men or beautiful women were standing, he caused the animal to prance and thus cast its shoes which were scrambled for by the crowd. This necessitated his waiting while the shoer or "argentier," wearing a rich livery, came from out of his train of footmen, and from a velvet bag produced other silver shoes, which he fastened on as loosely as the former ones.

In the Middle Ages the Druidical shoer, our old friend Wayland-Smith, was replaced by St. Eloy, who was bishop of Noyon in the seventh or eighth centuries, but had previously been a horseshoer and a very expert one, so tradition says. He was adopted as patron saint by the shoers, as well as by goldsmiths, as he worked in that metal after he became bishop, and also, it would seem, as the protector of animals,—his name too, was a good one to swear by, even by nuns, according to Chaucer, who says of his "Nonne," that, "Hir greatest othe n'as by Seint Eloy."

Sir David Lindsay (Scotch poet and dramatist, 1490–1555), alludes to him,

> "Saint Eloy he doth stoutly stand,
> Ane new horse-shoe in his hand."

And as a guardian of journeys he mentions that,

> "Some makis offering to Saint Eloy
> That he their horse may well convoy."

On a medal or token of the fourteenth century, found at the Pont Notre Dame, Paris, 1858, and on another of the fifteenth century found at the Pont aux Change in 1859, the Saint is portrayed as a bishop with a nimbus about his head, a shoeing hammer in his left hand, bestowing a benediction with the right; on the reverse is a horseshoe with rowels of spurs and a fleur-de-lis. A third medal shows on the obverse the Saint as above, with the letters "S. E. L.," Saint Eloy, and on the reverse a horseshoe with the various shoeing tools resembling those still used in France. These medals are of primitive execution and are supposed to have been issued by the Corporation of Horseshoers (Marechaux Ferrants) alluded to by Etienne Boyleau, Provost of Paris in the reign of Louis IX, died 1270. In the Middle Ages such medals passed for money, or as Presence Counters entitling to certain privileges, as well as the liability to particular obligations, being evidence of membership. They always had a religious character, and bore the image of the tutelary saint.

St. Martin and St. Severin were the patron saints of travelers, all of whom took good care not to undertake a long journey without appealing to one of these saints for protection and making an offering upon his altar. When the journey was likely to be especially perilous it was incumbent to have a horseshoe nailed to the door of the sanctuary, this being considered a potent aid to obtaining the desired succor. Evidences of this custom are frequent on the Continent more especially in France. At Chablis, Yonne, the elegant little church, dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, has yet a large portion of its entrance door covered with ancient horseshoes. In 1798, two shoes were still on the door of St. Saturnin, one of which dated from the year 1300 and the other from 1573. In this chapel was a piece of St. Martin's cloak, which was frequently invoked for the cure of sick horses. According to the historian Quicherat, there were four shoes on the door of the Cathedral of Embrum, which are said to have been worn by the horse of Lésdiguirès, a great captain under Henri Quatre who lived in Dauphiné; and on a pillar in the ancient baptistry of Besançon the figure of a horseshoe is deeply cut in the stone.

The sale of medals and images was a large source of revenue

to the churches. That St. Eloy was a great favorite is proved by the many badges for fastening clothing found in the Seine and bearing his effigy. These were probably made in the workshops lining the bridges; such buildings were frequently swept away by the floods. The Petit Pont, the oldest in Paris, has been destroyed ten times.

In a painting in the Church of St. Nicholas, Highworth, Wilts, St. Eloy is shown shoeing a horse, illustrating the legend proving his great skill before he became a priest. He then had the temerity to put upon his sign, "Eloi, maitre sur maitres, maitre sur Dieu," Master above masters, master above God. One day a youth of noble mien approached him; Eloi was very courteous and invited him to eat with him. Just then a knight in full armor rode up and demanded to have his horse shod. Eloi found the horse so excited that it was unsafe to attempt it, and proposed putting the horse in the travis. The youth thought that unnecessary and without further words, with a sharp knife and one cut, he severed the horse's foot and put it in the vise. No blood followed and the horseman remained seated in his saddle. The forge was no sooner lighted than a piece of iron became red hot; a shoe was made by the visitor at one heat, fitted to the hoof, filed up, put on the amputated foot which was still in the vise, and all was done in so short a time that Eloi was astounded. After that the stranger took the foot from out the vise, placed it against the stump of the horse's leg, and union took place instantly. The unquestionable truth of this tale is proved by the perfect picture of a French peasant which it gives, who, apart from his many endearing qualities, is endowed with a conceit of absolutely supernatural grandeur; so, Eloi, instead of being overcome, quickly remarked, "Comrade, you seem to know *something* about your craft already, the one thing you now require is to spend a year or two with me, after that you need fear no rivals." The youth did not directly reply to the offer, but left, promising to return in an hour. Scarce had he disappeared than another visitor came upon the scene, a traveler who required a shoe for his horse. Eloi, thinking this a good chance to put in practice what the stranger youth had shown him, seized a knife and, regardless of the struggles and screams of both horse and rider, by dint of cutting, chopping and sawing, managed to hack off the horse's foot. The shoeing took a long time, the job was most unsatisfactory, the horse was bleeding to death, the owner grew

threatening, Eloi and his family were terrified, the daughter was calling on heaven for aid, when suddenly the young man of the morning reappeared. A certain something about his appearance struck them all with reverence. Calmly he picked up the poor severed foot and replaced it where it belonged. The dead horse rose up perfectly well; the pool of blood vanished. The Being pointed to the blasphemous sign, "Maitre sur Dieu," and vanished. All fell upon their knees in prayer. When Eloi arose he took down the sign, broke it into fragments and cast them into the fire; from that day he devoted his life unto God. He performed many miracles, among them one similar to that just described,—rather risky even for a saint one would think.

Saints, Satan and horseshoes figure largely in medieval history. At Schwarzenstein, in Prussia, two large horseshoes once hung upon the church walls. Tradition has it that not far from the church, long, long ago, dwelt an inkeeper, who in selling beer did not always give the full measure. The Devil, in consequence, came to him one night and carried him off to the village forge. To the smith the Devil said, "Master, shoe me this horse." The innkeeper, however, seems to have been aware of the exceeding dullness of the ancient Devil, so he whispered to the smith, with whom he was in league, "Partner, don't be in a hurry, work slowly." The smith, who had taken him for a horse, was terribly frightened and trembled so that work was nigh impossible. Suddenly the cock crew and the devil was forced to leave. The innkeeper was scared ill by the night's adventure, but whether he played fair with the beer after that is not told us.

In Elbrich, Germany, four horseshoes were once to be seen nailed to the church door; a new church has replaced this one, so the shoes are now preserved in the curate's house. Count Ernest von Klettenberg rode one Sunday to Elbrich, glass in hand, to contend in a drink duel with a noted tippler for a golden chain. Numerous were the competitors, but the Count overcame them all. Returning in the evening, recklessly drunk and triumphant, the victor's chain about his neck, he passed the church of St. Nicholas, heard the solemn notes of vespers and determined to enter. In his drunken fit he rode through and over the people to the altar-rail. The knight prepared to dismount, a sound of thunder rent the air, all four shoes were torn from the horse, while rider and steed were struck dead,—which fully accounts for the four shoes.

Not only did workers in iron hold a prominent place in ancient mythology, but iron objects other than horseshoes even were subjects of superstitious reverence. Evil results to the striker, as well as the struck, apparently, followed from a blow with a piece of iron. A key, scissors, knife or other object of iron or steel, placed in a child's cradle, prevented its occupant being stolen or exchanged by fairies or evil spirits. Witches and their like object to iron wedges and axes as well as to horseshoes. John Aubrey (1626–1697) in his Miscellanies, says that in his time "it is very common to nail horseshoes over the thresholds of doors, which is to hinder the power of witches that enter the house. Most houses of the West End of London have the horseshoes on the threshold. It should be a horseshoe that one findeth."

Under the porch of Stainfield Church, Suffolk, he tells us, a tile with a horseshoe upon it was found, though one might suppose the holy-water would have been sufficient. Brand, 1797, saw in Monmouth Street, London, many horseshoes nailed to the doors. Ellis in 1813 counted seventeen. Frederick Thomas Elworthy says that he saw, and sketched in 1895, horseshoes over the doors of four consecutive houses on the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, Naples, although they disappeared the next year on account of alterations. Of course these were principally to protect the inhabitants from the evil-eye. He speaks of the doubt as to how the horseshoe should be put up, with the opening (heel) above, like a crescent, or with the heel downward. The common superstition is that when the opening is downward the good luck runs out and is lost. The *Quarterly Review* of July, 1895, p. 212, gives the opinion of an English farmer: "I knowed a farmer not very var herevrom, an' he 'ad terrible bad luck wi' 'is stock. He knowed they must be overlooked. Well, a neighbor told'n he could'n expect no other, zo long as he did keep the oss-shoe wrong zide up; 'n if he did mind to save his beast he must put'n upright, wi the heels o'un up on end. Well, zo he tookt and turned the 'oss-shoe t'other way up, and he never had'n a-got no bad luck arterwards." So that's settled. It is said that Nelson had a horseshoe nailed to the mainmast of the *Victory*, his flagship at Trafalgar. A French writer claims that the ensign of a Roman cohort on Trajan's column is surmounted by a horseshoe; if true this would go far to show that the Romans had the same superstition. It used to be the custom in Devon and Corn-

wall to nail old horseshoes to the west doors of churches for the special purpose of keeping off witches whose occupation was,

> "To untie the winds and make them fight
> Against the churches. . . ."

In Gay's fable of "The Old Woman and her Cats," the supposed witch complains,

> "Crouds of boys
> Worry me with eternal noise;
> Straws laid across my pace retard,
> The horse-shoe's nailed, (each threshold's guard)"

And Butler, in Hudibras, says of his conjurer that he could

> "Chase evil spirits away by dint
> Of sickle, horseshoes, hollow flint."

It is a piece of Scottish folk-lore, that a horseshoe nailed to the mast of a fishing smack will protect it against the weather.

The frail ladies of Amsterdam believed (in 1687) that a horseshoe which had been either found or stolen, if placed on the chimney hearth would bring good luck to their houses. They also believed that horse's dung dropped before the house and put fresh behind the door would produce the same effect.

In grubbing up old stumps of ash trees, from which many successive trees had sprung, in the parish of Scotten, some years ago, a horseshoe was found, said to have been placed there to "charm" the tree, so that a twig of it might be used in curing cattle over which a shrew-mouse had run, or an animal which had been "overlooked." If stroked with one of the little twigs of ash the disease would be charmed away. The shrew-mouse is a small insectivorous mammal which in the middle ages was supposed to be able to injure cattle by running over them. People used to plug the little creature up in an ash tree, any branch of which would then cure the evil. *Overlooked* in this case means bewitched.

Of course that perfectly well authenticated event in the life of St. Dunstan, and of the Devil, mentioned in the biography of each, though not dwelt upon very fully in the latter's, explains clearly the reason for the Christian belief in horseshoes. But, there is reason to suppose that the ancients shared this belief for the horseshoe,—heels-up, is very suggestive of the up-turned horns of the crescent.

The Sun and Moon, sources of light and heat, have always been accorded the highest worship,—amongst pagans, I mean, of course. The Moon has been looked upon by the Aryan stock as the mother of gods and men, and as the great and beneficent protector of her progeny. Her symbol is the crescent, and in all ages it has denoted the Celestial Mother, whether known of old as Ishtar, Isis, Artemis, Diana or, as at present, Madonna.

Hermes (Mercury) is said to have placed cow's horns upon the head of Isis, and thereby we can see the close connection between her and the Sacred Cow of the East, which, having swum across the Bosphorus (the Passage of the Cow), became Io or Hera, the Moon-goddess of the Greeks. We learn from good authorities, both ancient and modern, that the cow-horns of Io-Hera were derived from the symbolic horns of the crescent moon, and that she left her crescent badge upon Byzantium,—the same crescent which appears upon the Turkish standard after they captured it at Constantinople.

Just one more tax upon your patience. The humble little plant, moon-wort, or moon-fern (Botrychium lunaria), De Bartas says, *La Sepmaine*, London, 1598,

> "And horse that, feeding on the grassy hills,
> Tread upon moon-wort with their hollow heels;
> Tho lately shod, at night go barefoot home,
> Their master musing where their shoes be-come.
> O moon-wort! tell us where thou hid'st the smith,
> Hammer and pincers thou unshoo'st them with?
> Alas! what lock or iron engine is't
> That can thy subtile secret strength resist,
> Sith the best farrier cannot set a shoo
> So sure, but thou (so shortly) can'st undoo?"

Culpeper, the famous herbalist, middle of the seventeenth century, refers to this attraction of moon-fern for horseshoes, and says that the horses of a troop of Cromwell's cavalry, under the command of the Earl of Essex, passing over a Devon moor, lost all their shoes from this cause. Possibly indifferent workmanship was more to blame than moon-wort. John of Gaunt once lost a shoe in Lancaster at a place still known as Horseshoe Corner; this shoe was preserved and fixed in the middle of the street, and ever since it has been replaced by a new one every seventh year at the expense of the people living near. In 1834 this renewal took place mid great festivities.

The moral I am trying to teach is,—if you want any luck, look for a shoe off the fast disappearing horse, and when found, nail it—*heels up*—over your door.

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# RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE.

By Prof. George A. Barton.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society, December 18, 1911.*)

Before entering upon an account of the excavations that have actually taken place, it may be helpful to give some idea of the different races and civilizations which have passed over the country. The earliest inhabitants of Palestine of whom we have any connected knowledge were a race of men about five feet two inches on the average, who inhabited in the first place natural caves which they found in the rock, but who shortly developed the ability to excavate artificial caverns in the rock for themselves. These people belonged to the later stone age of culture.[1] This race apparently occupied the country for about five hundred years, from 3000 B. C. to 2500 B. C. They were followed by a branch of the Semitic race, who are called in the Bible, Amorites, who for seven or eight hundred years, so far as we can tell, alone held sway. Then another wave of Semitic migration pushed in among these, and to these second Semitic comers we give the name of Canaanites. The Canaanites and the Amorites mingled in different parts of Palestine, and it was out of the Canaanites that the Phœnicians were developed. About 1400–1300 B. C. a third wave of Semites, known as Aramæans, came into the land, and out of the Aramæans, through some mixture with the preceding population, the Hebrews were developed. They conquered Palestine, according to present theories, about 1200 B. C., and held the country until Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon destroyed their kingdom in the year 586; later under the Persians the Jewish state was reconstructed at Jerusalem, passing in course of time with all the rest of Palestine under the sway of Alexander the Great and his successors; from the conquest of Alexander in the year 332, for many centuries the Greek culture was present in the country and made a very deep impression upon its inhab-

[1] There was an earlier stone age culture in Palestine. For what is known of it, see R. A. S. Macalister, "A History of Civilization in Palestine," Cambridge, 1912, Ch. I.

itants. In the year 63 B. C., the land was conquered by the Romans, and from that time until about 637 or 638, when it was conquered by the Mohammedans, it was under the influence of the Roman and Byzantine powers. Following its conquest by Islam, it was exposed for several centuries to Mohammedan culture until just at the end of the eleventh century, that is, in the year 1099, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was established by the Crusaders. That lasted, however, less than a century, and then Palestine fell to various representatives of Mohammedan culture, the Eyyubide and Mamluk Sultans of Egypt, and then the Turkish Sultans of the Ottomon Empire. In giving an account of the excavations in Palestine, one has occasion to mention now and then, remains from each of these strata of culture.

We will now turn our attention to the excavations which have actually been made, looking for a few minutes at the exploration of Tell-el Hesy, in the maritime plain of Palestine. (Fig. 36.) An excavation was begun on this mound in the year 1890 by Professor Petrie, and brought to a conclusion by Dr. Bliss in 1892. The mound of Tell-el Hesy illustrates admirably the reason why strata from many civilizations are found in the mounds of Palestine by the excavators. The city was originally built on a little mound or "tell," which rose some sixty feet above the wady. As the mound stood before Professor Petrie attacked it, it rose to a height of some 120 feet. This growth represents the remains of successive villages. It was caused by the fact that ancient Oriental cities never carted away the sweepings from the houses or the debris which accumulated in the streets. They threw the refuse into the street, so that the street gradually increased its elevation. On the average this increase amounted to a rise of five feet in each century. Little by little the street rose before the door of a house until it became difficult to gain access to it from the door. The householder would then remove his roof, build up the walls of his house a little higher, fill in the floor with earth to bring it up to the street level, and go on living. At varying intervals in the changing tides of fortune a city was inevitably destroyed. Then its walls and the walls of its houses were broken down and left lying in a tangled mass. Frequently at such times, the site would be deserted and would lie uninhabited for fifty or a hundred years, when gradually a population would come back and a new city would grow up. All this is illustrated in the discoveries made at Tell-el Hesy. Professor Petrie attacked

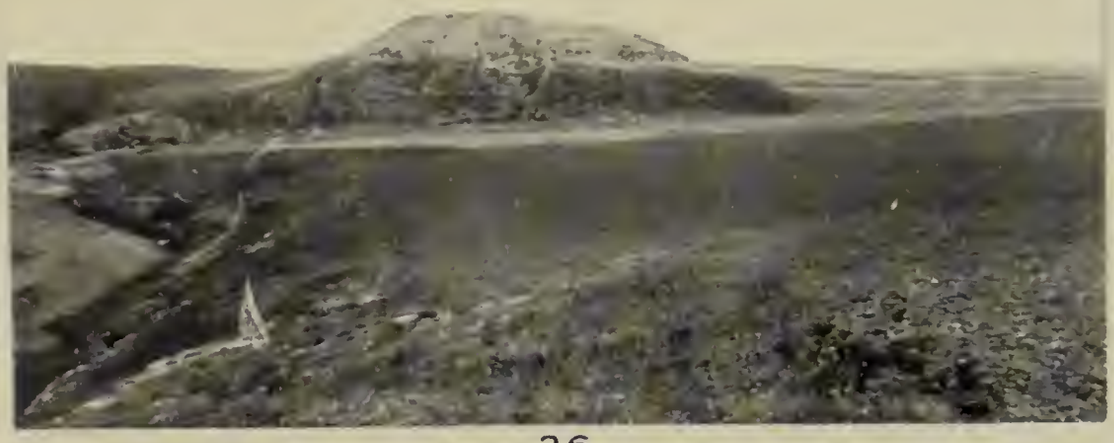

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Fig. 36. Mound of Tell-el-Hesy, after excavation.
Fig. 37. Excavating the Maccabæan City, Gezer.

one corner of the mound, and cut down through various layers, as one might cut slices from a huge cake; and in this process he found eleven different strata in the mound, which represented eight different cities. Later Dr. Bliss in carrying on the work at the site, found in the stratum which represented the third city from the bottom, a cuneiform tablet, a letter written by one Zimridda. The style of the writing of this tablet as well as the name Zimridda shows that it came from the same period as the letters found at El-amarna in Egypt, which were written to Amenophis III and Amenophis IV between 1400 and 1350 B. C. The other cities which lay below this city were accordingly of earlier date, and the earliest habitation on the site probably began between 1700 and 1600 B. C. From that time down to the Roman period, with intervals of varying length when the mound was deserted, the excavations show that it was inhabited, and remains from the different civilizations of this long period were found. One interesting and curious fact disclosed in these strata indicates that the third city, that is, the city in which Zimridda's letter was found, was burned, and probably after that the mound was used as a place for burning debris or something else for a long time, for a bed of ashes of considerable thickness intervenes between the third and fourth cities. The excavation at Tell-el Hesy is important also from the fact that Professor Petrie, who began it, having had large experience in Egypt, was able to arrange the pottery in a series, and to determine approximately the types of pottery produced by the pre-Hebrew inhabitants, as well as the subsequent Israelitish and Greek types. Thus he laid the foundations for a scientific classification of the results gained from excavating other mounds.

We will next consider briefly the discoveries made at Jerusalem. Archæologically, Jerusalem should be the most interesting spot in Palestine, but the practical difficulties in the way of any extensive excavation are insuperable. The site is still inhabited and the elevation of the present city is twenty-five or thirty feet above that of the time of Christ, and still higher, in the parts covered by the town, above that of the pre-Christian city. In spite of these difficulties, two important excavations have been made at Jerusalem, the first by Sir Charles Warren, between the years 1864 and 1867, and the second by Dr. Bliss from 1894 to 1897. Sir Charles Warren devoted himself to the exploration of localities near Solomon's Temple, and the site of the

city and palace of David, which lay just above the spring Gihon, the modern Virgin's Fountain. At this last-mentioned point Warren discovered an underground rock-cut passage which led from the spring up into the city of David, and which enabled the primitive inhabitants of the place to gain access in time of siege to their water supply without exposing themselves to the enemy. This shaft is thought by many scholars to be the water course through which Joab led David's men into the city, as mentioned in II. Samuel 5:8, at the time that David captured it. Warren's exploration of this region about the Virgin's Fountain has recently been supplemented by Captain the Honorable M. Parker, who from 1909 to 1911 thoroughly explored and cleared out the many caves about the Fountain, as well as the Siloam tunnel which leads from it and which was cut by King Hezekiah. The results of Captain Parker's work, so far as published, indicate that the earliest habitation on the site of Jerusalem was in these caverns about the Fountain, and suggest the possibility that the first occupation of the sacred city was made by cave dwellers similar to those found at Gezer, and whom we shall mention later.

Sir Charles Warren's exploration in connection with the Temple revealed many interesting facts. For one thing, he carried a shaft down through the accumulated débris outside the wall at the southwest corner of the Temple area until he reached the native rock. The shaft was then carried westward until it reached the base of the wall. On the stones of this wall there were found Phœnician characters, the quarry marks of the Phœnician workmen, and this masonry was undoubtedly the work of Solomon. Somewhat farther to the north, on the east side of the Temple area, at the same level, he found that the Solomonic wall curved slightly outward, following a somewhat different line from that of the present wall. On the other side of the Temple area in the Tyropæan Valley he found, eighty feet below the present elevation, the remains of a bridge which once continued Robinson's Arch from the Temple to the western hill. This bridge in the Asmonæan period led from the Temple to the palace. The Asmonæans, who were both priests and kings, were thus able by this private way, to gain easy access to the Temple.

Dr. Bliss in 1894 began excavation at the southwest corner of the western hill, in what is known as Maudsley's scarp. All about Maudsley's scarp are evidences that it was once the site

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Fig. 38. Trenches at Gezer, 1903, showing Judæan tableland in distance.
Fig. 39. Excavating Pre-Exilic Hebrew City of Gezer.

of a great fortress and from this point eastward to the pool of Siloam, Bliss traced the ancient wall, except for a few hundred yards where a Jewish cemetery intervened. At the bottom of Bliss' trench, a part of which is still kept open by the Franciscan monks, one may still see the Jewish wall rebuilt by Nehemiah, which formed, until the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in the year 70, the southern wall of Jerusalem. Above this wall there is a stratum of loose stone and rubble, which represents the period from 70 A. D. until about 430 A. D., when this wall lay in ruins. Above this stratum rises another wall of very different masonry from the first, which undoubtedly represents the wall built in the time of the Empress Eudoxia, which lasted until after the Crusading time.

Many interesting minor discoveries have been made at Jerusalem, but we have not time to mention them all. Between 1898 and 1900, Dr. Bliss and Mr. Macalister excavated in four different mounds in the Shephelah, Tell Sandahanna, Tell Jedeideh, Tell Zakariyeh, and Tell Es-Safi, the results of which have been published in a large volume, but in this rapid review we have not time to note the details of this work.

The most illuminating exploration for the history of Palestine is that made by Mr. Macalister at Gezer between 1902 and 1908. Mr. Macalister found here a succession of eight different strata, extending all the way from the primitive cave-dwellers of the country to the Maccabæan period. (Figs. 37, 38, 39.) At the bottom of the mound in the native rock he found many caves, some of them natural, but most of them artificial. The artificial caves had been cut with stone implements, and these were the habitations of the primitive race of cave-dwellers previously mentioned. One of the caves formed a crematory, in which this early people had burned their dead. They had constructed a flue which carried the smoke to the upper air, and the remains of some of their funeral pyres were found in the neighborhood of this flue. Their cremation was not absolutely thorough, and in the ashes of this fire a number of partially consumed bones were found. Professor Macalister, of Cambridge, England, the father of the excavator, happened fortunately to visit his son at Gezer shortly after the discovery of these bones, and it was from a study of them that the celebrated anatomist was able to determine not only the average stature, but many other facts concerning this early race of men. From the character of the knee joints

and from other features of the leg bones, he concluded that they were a non-Semitic people, for they were not accustomed, as the Semites were, to spend much of their time in a squatting posture, a posture which is said to produce upon the bones an effect easily distinguishable by an anatomist. Another of the caves at Gezer was thought by Mr. Macalister to have been the sanctuary of these primitive men. A large quantity of animal bones was found in this, and there were openings in the top, through which apparently the blood of the victims had been made to run into the cave. Among the bones found here were many pig bones, another evidence of the non-Semitic character of the people. A people who would offer swine in sacrifice were certainly non-Semitic. The earliest wall which surrounded the mound and which was perhaps its means of defense in the days of these cave-dwellers, was of a very simple and primitive character. (Fig. 40.) A thin wall about four feet in height was erected of small field stones, laid without mortar. Against this was put on the outside a mound of earth some three feet wide at the bottom and sloping to the wall at the top. Over this mound another coating of small field stones was laid. This defense is an interesting revelation of the harmless character of the warfare of this early time, and of the sort of defense against enemies which was sufficient. Above the native rock which had been honeycombed by these caves, Mr. Macalister found the ruins of an Amorite city. Its streets had been laid out over the rock and its dwellings erected thereon. These Amorites sunk their cisterns in the rock, and frequently used the caves of their predecessors as tombs for their dead, for the Semites buried their dead. The Amorites built about the mound a more substantial wall. For some centuries the Amorites inhabited Gezer, during which time an accumulation of two feet or more of earth occurred on the rock and then there was constructed, perhaps by the coming of the Canaanites, in the center of the mound, a high place. (Fig. 41.) The discovery of this high place was perhaps the most important of all Mr. Macalister's finds at Gezer. It is the largest and most complete of all the high places hitherto found, and at the time of its discovery was practically the only one known. This high place consisted of a row of monoliths, ten in number, extending from north to south. The row curved slightly, so that the rising sun seemed to form a center for the circle. Nine of these monoliths were formed from the native rock of Gezer, but the tenth was of a

Fig. 40. Ruined Stone Work of the earliest Wall at Gezer.

different character. It was made of a rock containing many fossils, similar to that found in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, and had no doubt been brought to Gezer from the higher land of Palestine. Possibly it had been captured in some raid from a high place it had previously adorned, as Mesha, the king of Moab, tells us in his inscription that he captured an ariel of Yahweh. This stone formed the sacred stone or massebah of the high place at Gezer. Its surface had been worn smooth by the fat of the sacrifices with which it had been anointed, or by the kisses of worshippers, or both. The other stones were undoubtedly erected here to give it honor. A little to the north of this sacred stone was found a large square stone in which was a square cutting. Mr. Macalister was puzzled to explain the purpose of this. At first he thought that it might have been a socket for the ashera, but it is probable that it was simply a laver, which contained water for the priest's ablutions. This high place formed the sanctuary for a considerable time before the Hebrew conquest, but much evidence was also found that its sacred character was continued down to the Hebrew exile.

The city of Gezer came under the sway of the Hebrews in the time of Solomon. According to the ninth chapter of I. Kings when Solomon married an Egyptian princess, his Egyptian father-in-law captured the city of Gezer, burned it with fire and then gave it to his daughter as a wedding present. Solomon, we are told, re-fortified the city and made it one of the outposts of his kingdom. The discoveries of Mr. Macalister are thought by many to afford very interesting confirmation of this statement. The largest wall which he found at Gezer was a massive structure, some fourteen feet in thickness, which had apparently been built in the great days of Egypt's empire in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, perhaps by Thothmes III himself. Into this wall there had been inserted at intervals, by some later ruler, towers. That they were a later insertion was shown by the fact that their masonry touched that of the walls, but did not interlock with it as would have been the case had the towers and the wall been built at the same time. These towers, Mr. Macalister conjectures, formed a part of the re-building accomplished by Solomon. Towers inserted in that way were by no means as strong as towers interlocking with the wall therefore, and some later ruler of the town, perhaps the Syrian Bacchides, had carried around the corner towers, buttresses of similar stone to protect them. The masonry

of these buttresses, like that of the towers themselves, did not interlock with the masonry of the walls, but simply touched it. From the time of Solomon to the Babylonian exile, Gezer was under the control of the Hebrews. The strata from the period afford much evidence of the type of religious worship against which the Hebrew prophets so earnestly protested. The votive offerings found in large numbers in the high place were an indescribable revelation of the socially degrading character of the worship carried on there, and within the walls of a Hebrew house a plaque of a horned Astarte was discovered. In a wrecked structure which stood near the high place and on a level with it, a brazen serpent was found. It is not certain to what purpose this wrecked structure was devoted, but it has been suggested that it was a serpent pen where sacred serpents were kept. It is known from the Book of Kings that a brazen serpent was worshipped down to the time of Hezekiah and this discovery at Gezer affords interesting confirmation of that. In the time after the exile, the city was captured and rebuilt by the Maccabees. By this time the Hebrew religion had been thoroughly reformed. The use of the high place was discontinued, it was covered up and built on. The most interesting discovery from this Maccabæan period was the remains of a large castle or palace which formed at times perhaps the residence of the Asmonæans themselves, and at all times of their governors. An inscription found here referred to Simon the Maccabee.

Before leaving the city of Gezer, attention must be called to one other remarkable discovery. This was a tunnel which at first greatly perplexed the excavator. Whither it was to lead or what its purpose could have been, Mr. Macalister could not conjecture, as day after day large quantities of earth were removed from it. But when it had been entirely cleared, it proved to be an underground passage cut into the solid rock, which led to a subterranean cave in the midst of which was a spring. This tunnel, like the one at Jerusalem, was undoubtedly constructed to enable the inhabitants of the city to reach an unfailing supply of water in time of siege. The tunnel was at its opening some 27 feet by 6 feet, and was entered by a stairway. After descending to the southward for a short distance, the tunnel turned to the east and then gradually descended. The total length of the excavation was 219 feet, and the floor of the cave was 94 feet below the surface of the native rock and 130 feet below the present

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Fig. 41. High Place of Gezer.
Fig. 42. Seal found at Tell-el-Mutesellin.

level of the mound. From the nature of the pottery found at the entrance of this cave, Mr. Macalister inferred that it had ceased to be used about 1200 B. C., that is, about the period of the Hebrew conquest. From the way in which the stone steps in the tunnel were worn, he inferred that it had been in use, when it was closed up, about 500 years. If these inferences are correct, this remarkable structure must have been made before the Egyptian conquest of Palestine, and the only people known to us at all who were in that region at that time, and who could possibly have done this, was the race to whom the so-called Hyksos kings of Egypt belonged; but who the Hyksos were, and what their civilization was, is at present one of the unknown problems. If they were able, however, to construct a tunnel like this, they must have been far advanced in the arts of civilization. It is possible, as Professor Meyer thinks, that they were Hittites.

We must now briefly note the results of excavations at two or three other sites. In 1902 Professor Sellin, of Vienna, began excavation at Tell Taanek, the site of the Scriptural Taanach. The various strata discovered here are analogous to those discovered at Tell-el-Hesy. In the stratum belonging to the period of the third city at Tell-el-Hesy, a collection of cuneiform tablets was found, consisting of letters similar to the El-Amarna correspondence. These letters were found in a palace and reveal the presence of a petty kingdom at Taanach in this period. Perhaps the next most interesting discovery was an altar coming from the period of Hebrew occupation. This altar was hollow and was evidently intended for burning incense, but it was adorned on the outside by animal heads and serpent heads, and probably these heads represented seraphim or other mythological figures.

Another interesting excavation was begun in the spring of 1903 by Dr. Schumacher at Tell-el-Mutesellin, the site of the ancient Megiddo. Here a high place and an open square containing several massebahs, which apparently served as a place of worship, and also a large palace were discovered. Among the many interesting small objects found here, was a seal bearing the following inscription: "Belonging to Shema, the servant of Jeroboam." (Fig. 42.) This shows that a governor under King Jeroboam once inhabited this palace, but whether it was Jeroboam I or Jeroboam II is uncertain.

In 1908 and 1909, the Germans carried on excavations at

the site of the city of Jericho. Here they have found the ancient walls of the town and the primitive citadel. Their discoveries indicate that there was a pre-Israelitish occupation of considerable length, that the city was rebuilt by the Hebrews, that it was inhabited down to the Babylonian exile and again in the Byzantine period. According to I. Kings 16: 34, the city of Jericho was rebuilt by Hiel in the time of Ahab, and in one part of the mound the Germans have found a large structure which they believe to be the palace of Hiel.

In 1908, Harvard University began an excavation at Sebastiyeh, the site of ancient Samaria. During the first season the work was carried on by Professor Lyon, but for the second and third seasons it was under the direction of Professor Reisner. The discoveries here have been of great importance and remarkably confirm the history of the mound as known from Biblical and other sources. At the top of the mound a Greek temple, undoubtedly built by Herod the Great, was laid bare, and in the lower strata remains from the Maccabæan and the Syrian periods, as well as from the Hebrew period were found. Other interesting evidences of the occupation of the place by Babylonians were brought to light. It is stated in II. Kings 17: 24–34, that Sargon of Assyria caused Babylonians to settle in Samaria, and Professor Reisner found a wall which he thought could have been built by no one but Babylonians, for it was built of small stones, when there was in the immediate vicinity an abundance of large stones, and it seemed to him more reasonable to account for this choice of building material by supposing that those who constructed this wall were, like the Babylonians, accustomed to build with brick. In the lower stratum of the mound, resting on the native rock, Dr. Reisner came upon the foundation of a palace. It was built of native stone, and from many considerations he was led to believe that it was the palace constructed by Omri, the founder of Samaria, as described in I. Kings 16 : 24. This palace had been enlarged and rebuilt by another ruler, who constructed its exterior walls of white marble, and Professor Reisner with much reason believed that this was the work of King Ahab. It has been suggested that this marble palace was the structure which led the Hebrew writer to say that Ahab had a palace of ivory (I. Kings, 22: 39). In the palace supposed to be Ahab's was found an alabaster vase, on which was inscribed the name of Osorkon II of the twenty-second dynasty, who was a contem-

porary of King Ahab. The most remarkable discovery at Samaria was found in a building at the same level as this palace of Ahab's. It consisted of a large number of inscribed potsherds. They had evidently been inscribed after the pottery was broken. They consisted of receipts given to many different men for wine and oil which had evidently been stored there. The discovery of this writing is of very great importance. We have long been looking for Hebrew inscriptions and Hebrew writing in Palestine, and until this discovery had for the most part been disappointed. The characters in which these receipts are written are of the same sort as those in which the Moabite stone is written, and for the first time we have contemporary Hebrew documents of the time of Ahab. It is true that the contents are not especially illuminating. The following examples illustrate.

One reads: "In the tenth year. Belonging to Shemaryo. From the Tell. A jar of fine oil."

Another: "In the tenth year. Wine of the vineyard of the Tell, with a jar of fine oil."

A third: "In the ninth year. From Shaphtan, belonging to Baalzomar, a jar of old wine."[2]

But the proper names contained in these receipts are of considerable importance illustrating many of the name-formations found in the Old Testament, and afford us also some new ones. Among the proper names that of Elisha occurs, but whether he was the prophet of that name we do not know.

In this work of Palestinian exploration the Americans have had as yet no part, except at Samaria. In the year 1900 there was opened in Palestine the American School of Oriental Study and Research. This school was conducted for the first few years of its life in rooms rented in the Grand New Hotel and since that time in buildings leased for the purpose in Jerusalem. This school is supported by contributions from twenty or more colleges, universities and theological seminaries in the United States and Canada, and is under the control of the Archæological Institute of America. It was organized with the twofold purpose of affording promising American students opportunity to study the Bible and Biblical archæology in the Holy Land, and to carry on the work of exploration; but up to the present time its funds have been

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[2] Taken from Professor Lyon's translations. *Harvard Theological Review*, IV, 138 *ff*.

insufficient to accomplish either of these purposes fully. A large endowment is needed at once to enable the school to appoint a permanent director. At present a director is borrowed for a year at a time from one of the supporting institutions. This director has to learn while on the ground the things that he is supposed to teach, and has no sooner mastered his first lessons than he gives way to some one else. Even under these disadvantages the school is of immense value both to the students and to the teachers, but it would be of far greater value if, in addition to the visiting professor, there could be on the ground a permanent director also. Money is also greatly needed for a proper building for the school. Land for the purpose was purchased some years ago, but the funds of the school have never permitted it to build. In addition to these needs, the school also should have sufficient funds to enable it to take its part along with the English and Germans in carrying on the work of exploration in Palestine. The director of the school has been able to engage only in minor researches or in exploration of a comparatively insignificant character. If our school in Palestine could have an endowment of a million dollars, the income of three hundred thousand dollars of which could be set aside for exploration, this would place the school in a position that would make it an honor to America. It could then stand as an equal in dignity and in efficiency beside the excellent archæological schools which are maintained in Palestine by the Germans and the French.

# ABSTRACT OF A PAPER ON THE BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN BIRTH OMENS AND THE HISTORY OF MONSTERS.

By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society, January 15, 1912.*)

As a result of a detailed study of Babylonian-Assyrian methods of divining the future, it can now be definitely stated that, leaving aside miscellaneous omens, there were three chief systems in use which were all elaborately developed through the activities of the priestly schools of Babylonia and Assyria. The first and apparently the oldest system was divination through the inspection of the liver of a sacrificial animal. On this system I had the honor of addressing The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society some years ago.[1] A second system, not as old apparently and resting on a less primitive basis of thought, was the effort to divine the future through the observation of the movements in the heavens, more particularly of the moon, sun and five planets. A third system consisted in the interpretation of malformations and all kinds of anomalies observed in the young of animals and in infants at the time of birth. Each of these three systems rests on an underlying series of ideas. Divination through the liver is based on the primitive belief which placed the seat of the soul in the liver and which further assumed that the observation of any peculiar signs connected with the liver of an animal offered to a deity and accepted by him, would enable the priest acting as mediator to penetrate, as it were, into the soul of the deity reflected in the soul (*i.e.*, in the liver) of the sacrificial animal.[2] Divination through the observation of phenomena in the heavens or astrology rests on the theory of the identification of sun, moon, planets and stars in general with gods and goddesses. This identification carries with it as a corollary the

[1] See *Proceedings of The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 25, p. 23.

[2] See a paper by the author on "The Liver as the Seat of the Soul" in Studies in the History of Religions, presented to C. H. Toy (N. Y., 1912), pp. 143–168.

idea that the movements in the heavens represent the activity of these divine beings preparing, as it were, events on earth which, according to the current theory, were ascribed directly to the intervention of gods and goddesses.[3]

In the same way we are justified in looking for some rational factor which led people to associate the prognostication of coming events with signs observed in animals and infants at birth. The sense of mystery attaching to life which is intensified in the case of a new life coming into existence, furnishes a perfectly natural and reasonable point of departure. It is this sense of mystery which underlying numerous ceremonies observed at birth which is found far and wide among people in primitive states of culture, and carried over to more advanced forms of civilization.

To this factor there must be added as a second consideration the association of ideas, applicable to the whole scope of divination, between any unusual phenomenon and its obvious interpretation as portending something of an unusual character in the immediate future. Any deviation, therefore, from the normal in the case of a new-born animal or infant, such as a peculiar shape of the head or of any other part of the body, or a deficiency of any kind or an excess number of limbs, fingers, ears and the like, would naturally arouse attention and be regarded as a sign or portent calling for some interpretation. In general, the deviation from the normal was interpreted as an unfavorable sign, though of course there were also numerous exceptions, such as an unusually large head or an unusually bright eye, which, though abnormal, would by a natural association of ideas be regarded as favorable. On the other hand, any malformation that approached to a monstrosity would in every case be looked upon as unfavorable.

We are fortunate in having in the great Royal Library of Nineveh—of which large portions were recovered by Layard in his excavations on the site of the capital of ancient Assyria—hundreds of texts forming the hand-books or collections of Assyrian priests for the interpretation of birth omens. In these texts, arranged in a quite methodical manner, we have grouped together all possible and many impossible malformations and anomalies

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[3] See a paper by the writer on "Hepatoscopy and Astrology in Babylonia and Assyria" in Proc. of the Amer. Philos. Society, vol. XLVII, pp. 646-676.

in the young of animals and of new-born infants. We have sections dealing with malformations of ears, of eyes, of hands or feet. For ears we have cases noted of the right or the left ear being unusually large or unusually small, or that one or other ear is broken off or crushed or deformed.[4] In the same way an excess number of ears,—three, four or more,—is noted among the malformations. In every case an interpretation is added. Other lists deal with twins, triplets and excess numbers of births up to ten in the case of infants, and as many as twenty and thirty in the case of the young of certain animals. Naturally, of the hundreds, aye thousands, of malformations and monstrosities gathered together in these texts only a comparatively small portion represent such as actually occurred. The priests, however, wished to be prepared for any emergency and so, having observed cases in which apparently the rudiment of a second ear was found in the case of a left or right ear, they did not content themselves with offering an interpretation for a calf born with three ears, but added to their list the case of four, five, six ears, etc., up to an almost indefinite number. All this is a mere play of fancy, but there can be no question that the starting point of these collections of birth omens is actual observation of malformations that occurred. The definite proof for this is to be found in official reports furnished by the priests to their royal masters informing them of the birth of a calf with two heads, or of an unusual litter of swine, or of the rarer case of a mare giving birth to two foals, and the like. In these reports the phenomena noted are all of the kind that actually occur as freaks of nature or as anomalies.

The aim of the priests was to make the scope of divination as large as possible. The greater the number of signs that could be noted the larger the field of divinatory activity. A very important factor in thus enlarging the field of observation was the more or less fanciful resemblance seen between the features of one animal and those of an animal of a totally different species, or between the features of some animal and those of a new-born babe. The animals introduced into these Babylonian-Assyrian birth texts are the domestic creatures, primarily sheep, goats, calves, dogs and swine. Now, if a lamb was born with a particulary large

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[4] See the translations in Jastrow's "Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens," II, pp. 845–931.

head it was quite natural to compare the head to that of a lion; if one with the head abnormally small, it might resemble that of a little puppy. The association of ideas with the lion would suggest an increase of power, an extension of territory or a victory; while the abnormally small head would portend a curtailment of power or an encroachment of the enemy and the cutting off of territory. Here, again, the starting point would be a resemblance that might in certain cases be rather striking, but from this starting point fancy would be permitted to roam at will and there would be no limit to purely fanciful and even ludicrous resemblances between the ears, eyes, or limbs of one animal with those of another species. In the case of infants, it might not infrequently happen that a child's head suggests that of a little puppy or even of a bird or a little pig, and according to the association of ideas with one animal or the other, the priests would furnish an interpretation which, it should be noted, in almost all cases bore upon public affairs, such as the position of the king, the condition of the land, crops, victory, defeat, pestilence and the like, but rarely upon private matters affecting individuals only. Among the birth omen texts we thus have elaborate lists in which comparisons are instituted between the head, the eyes, ears, mouth, lips, nose, and even hair of infants with the corresponding parts of the body of a sheep, a dog, a lion and even a jackal, as well as of swine, goat, fox or bird.

All this, of course, is again the play of fancy and apparently idle play, and it might be questionable, too, whether the whole subject was worthy of any serious consideration, but for the curious fact that this system of divination, devised on the basis of signs noted in the case of young animals and infants, actually led to the science, or rather, to the pseudo-science, of Physiognomy, which, as is well known, was accepted and developed by men of real science and kept its hold on the popular mind until almost to the threshold of our own era. If one takes up hand-books devoted to physiognomy, such as the one prepared by the famous Porta at the end of the sixteenth century[5] and which remained for several centuries a standard work, one is struck by the fact that the suggested resemblance between human features and those of some animal plays a great part in the effort to prognosticate the character of an individual

[5] "De Humana Physiognomia." (1568.)

from his physiognomy. Porta's work is full of illustrations in which on the one side a picture of some noted individual, Socrates, Plato, a Roman emperor or what not, is shown and on the other side some animal, a dog, a stag, a lion, a fox, to which the individual is supposed to bear a resemblance. Precisely as in the collection of Babylonian-Assyrian birth omens, Porta proceeds to set forth peculiarities noted in each part of the face, in the eye, the nose, the mouth, the lips, the ear, the brow, and even in the hair; and in almost every case a determination of the character of the individual is made on the basis of the suggested resemblance of one feature of the face or the other to some animal. This science of Physiognomy can be traced back to the days of Plato and no doubt in a more popular form existed among the Greeks for some time before the age of the great philosopher. We meet traces of it in the medical treatises of Greek, Latin and Arabic writers and I venture to think that in the importance laid upon this factor in Babylonian-Assyrian birth omens we have the explanation for the strong hold that this notion of comparison between human and animal features had upon Greeks and Romans and from them was passed on through the Middle Ages up to the time of the famous Lavater in whose work on physiognomy[6] traces of this view can still be found, although it should be added that with Lavater the downfall of physionomy as a supposed science begins. In the preliminary sketch to his work on physiognomy,[7] Lavater had intended to include a chapter on the resemblance between man and animals, but by the time he came to write his great work he evidently had reached the conclusion that (as he puts it), it is unworthy to compare man, the highest work of a divine Creator, with a lower order of creation. Lavater's objection, to be sure, falls within the category of sentiment rather than reason, but it often happens that the break-up of an outlived system begins with sentimental opposition, due to an instinctive feeling that the system no longer corresponds to the stage of intellectual development reached.

A second point of cultural interest in connection with Babylonian-Assyrian birth omens and which justifies us in giving the subject serious consideration, is the influence exerted by this division of divination on the views held in regard to monstrosities

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[6] "Physiognomische Fragmente" (Leipzig, 1775). (4 vols.)

[7] "Von der Physiognomik" (Leipzig, 1772), zweites Stück, p. 45.

in the Greek and Roman world and, which again, extends to the threshold of modern science. The very word monster from a stem (monstrare), "to show," indicating that a monster was a "sign," receives an explanation on the assumption that the sign meant was actually a birth omen. We know from Cicero and other writers that the Etruscans, through whom the Romans obtained the system of hepatoscopy, were also skilled in the interpretation of birth omens; and some illustrations are given by Cicero and other writers of birth omens and their interpretations which can be almost exactly paralleled in the collections of Babylonian-Assyrian priests. More than this, a good case can be made out for the thesis that the monsters and fabulous creatures that play so great a part in mythology and in the realm of legend, such as the Tritons, Satyrs, Cyclops, Mermaids, Centaurs, represent merely a further extension of the supposed resemblance between man and animals which would naturally lead to the further belief in the existence of hybrid creatures, that is, such as show in part human features and human limbs and in part features and limbs of animals. We actually read in Babylonian-Assyrian birth omens of infants having the head of one animal, the eyes of another, the mouth of a third and the feet of a fourth. Assuming, as has been indicated, that these comparisons rested upon merely more or less fanciful resemblances, it would be only a short step to the assumption of the real occurrence of mixed creatures. If we look more closely at some of the fabulous creatures it will, moreover, be found that quite a number of them actually suggest malformations that really occur. There are a number of authenticated cases on record of children born with one eye, which would, therefore, have suggested the notion of such creatures as the Cyclops. A malformation of the feet in the case of an infant may go to the extent of having the two feet joined and with little protuberances at the end suggesting the tail of a fish.[8] With the help of a little fancy we have here the fabulous mermaid and triton. The child with the two heads would suggest a Janus face, and so on through the list. A German physician, Prof. Friedrich Schatz, published about ten years ago a little monograph[9] in which he endeavored to set forth this thesis

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[8] See Guinard, "Précis de Tératologie," p. 366. Such a malformation is still called in French anatomical nomenclature a "siren" formation.

[9] "Die griechischen Götter und die menschlichen Missgeburten." (Wiesbaden, 1901.)

regarding the origin of fabulous creatures of mythology, as based upon actual malformations. He perhaps carried the thesis too far, but now with the proof furnished through the Babylonian-Assyrian birth omens of a widespread and influential system of divination in which the resemblance between men and animals, the significance attached to malformations and monstrosities, including the possibility of the existence of hybrid creatures, enter as important factors, further support for Dr. Schatz's views has been obtained.

The full paper of the author with numerous illustrations of birth omens taken from Babylonian-Assyrian texts, together with parallels in Greek and Roman literature, showing the spread of Babylonian-Assyrian ideas and customs, and with a further discussion of the various theses maintained in the paper, will be published ere long.

# THE TILE ARCHITECTURE AND MAIOLICA OF MEXICO.

By Dr. Edwin AtLee Barber.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society, February 19, 1912.*)

If one should travel through certain parts of Mexico, particularly through the section to the southeast of the Capital, one cannot fail to be attracted by the numerous ancient churches which nestle in the valley, with their tile-covered domes and towers, which may be seen from a long distance glistening and flashing in the bright sunlight. If the observant traveler should visit the City of Mexico he will there find on every hand venerable churches and other buildings whose exteriors are richly encrusted with glazed tiling. Should the stranger turn to his guide book for information regarding this unfamiliar style of architecture, he will probably find it stated that the tiles which have been used so lavishly in the embellishment of these edifices are *porcelain* and that they were brought from *China* during past centuries. On closer examination, however, the investigator will discover that some of the panels in the façades of these buildings, or in their interiors, are painted with figures of saints, scenes illustrating ancient Spanish traditions, Christian emblems, and escutcheons of sacerdotal orders. If he extends his investigations into the nature of the tiles themselves he will find that they are not porcelain but tin-enameled earthenware, or maiolica, and he will reach the inevitable conclusion that they cannot be of Chinese origin, since it is known that tin was never employed as a glaze in China, but that they are apparently the work of Spanish potters. On closer examination of the separate tiles which have fallen from the walls, however, it will be seen that they are entirely different in character from the tiles of Spain and that they can readily be distinguished from the latter.

At an early period, certainly prior to the year 1600, many churches, convents and other religious foundations, public houses and private dwellings were constructed in various parts of Mexico, whose interiors and exteriors were often literally covered with mosaic patterns in glazed tiles, many of which are yet standing

with much of their original tile-work still in place. It was, however, during the following century, the seventeenth, that the lavish use of tin enameled tiles, in rich colorings, became a particularly striking feature of Mexican architecture.

As might naturally be expected, the best examples of tile architecture are to be found in the city where the tiles were made and in the immediate vicinity. While these products of the Puebla kilns were transported on the backs of mules to distant sections, there was scarcely a church, convent or important building of any description in Puebla and the neighboring country, in the construction of which tile work did not form an important feature. Even in the cemeteries glazed tiles were used to some extent to embellish the monuments erected to the dead.

The architecture of Mexico is rarely pure in style, but usually reveals a combination or merging of two or more styles in the same structure. The most pronounced styles which are found in the churches of Mexico are: First, the Spanish Renaissance, which was extensively employed during the latter half of the sixteenth century and through the seventeenth. Second, the baroque, almost equivalent to the rococo style of the Louis XV period of France. In the baroque style carved statues are usually found in the façade at each side of the entrance and occasionally in the stories above. Third, the churrigueresque, the most characteristic style used in ecclesiastical architecture in Mexico, which is of a purely decorative character and not constructive, having been developed by a Spanish architect and sculptor, Don José Churriguera, who lived from about 1650 to 1725. It is characterized by a riot of florid details, an exuberance of carved ornament, which results in the breaking up of columns and plain surfaces, and the elaborate ornamentation of panels.

The fourth pronounced architectural style of Mexico is what may be termed the Mudéjar, a blending of Christian and Saracenic art, developed by the Christianized Moors in Spain, and carried into Mexico about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Tile panels of considerable size are found in the interior walls of many of the old churches. Some of these have at various times been removed and now ornament the interiors of private dwellings. One of these, representing "The Virgin of Guadelupe," now ornaments the passage leading from the patio to the garden, in the Casa de Alvarado in Coyoacán near the City of Mexico, which was built in 1521 by the great captain who accompanied

Cortez during the conquest of Mexico. The tile panel, however, is of the eighteenth century and was placed there by the present owner of the building, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, the distinguished archæologist.

Since the art of tile-making was introduced into Mexico by the priesthood we may naturally expect to find in the ecclesiastical edifices the best maiolica work of the early craftsmen. Extensive tile lavatories with enormous maiolica basins, beautifully decorated, were erected for the use of the clergy; baptismal and holy-water fonts, and services for the tables of the convents and other religious houses, were produced in great abundance.

Having executed the more pressing orders of the priests, the potters were free to supply the needs of the people, and vast quantities of articles were at a little later date produced for household use, such as bath-tubs, or cisterns, covered dishes, bowls, basins, bénitiers, inkstands, sand-sprinklers, salt cellars, candlesticks, large jars for storing liquids, vanilla, chocolate and other foods, and vases of various forms intended as receptacles for cut flowers and for growing plants.

What has already been said of the maiolica tiles of Mexico will apply in the main to the maiolica ware of that country. Maiolica is a variety of soft earthenware covered with an enamel or glaze containing as one of its ingredients a percentage of oxide of tin, which greatly increases the hardness of the glaze and imparts a pure white color. Being entirely opaque, this stanniferous enamel cannot be applied over painted decorations without concealing them, but the colors must be applied either in or over the enamel. The use of tin as a glaze for pottery is now believed to be of Saracenic origin, having been introduced into Egypt and Persia probably about the twelfth century by the Arabs, who afterwards carried the art into Morocco, whence it was taken by the Moors into Spain. Workmen who went from Spain to Italy established the art in the latter country, and it soon spread to other parts of Europe. The Delft wares of Holland and England, the stanniferous faience of France, Belgium, Sweden, Germany, Hungary and Denmark, are almost identical in paste and glaze with the maiolica of Italy and the Hispano-Moresco pottery of Spain.

The maiolica ware of Mexico may be divided into four distinct varieties: First, that which shows a strong Hispano-Moresco influence in design.

Then followed the Spanish or Talavera style, which continued from about 1600 to 1780. The maiolica of Talavera, Spain, from which this variety is patterned, shows more of Italian influence than Moresque, as potters went to Talavera from Italy in the seventeenth century, and introduced the style of decoration in blue and white which was employed at Savona and Genoa. Consequently the Mexican wares of this period are strongly Talaveran, both in form and decorative treatment. We find, for example, the figure of the hare, or rabbit, which figured extensively in the tiles and maiolica of Talavera.

The next variety of Mexican maiolica, in point of time, covering the period from about 1650 to 1800, reflects in form, and especially in decorative treatment, the methods of oriental potters. Indeed, the Chinese influence appears so strongly upon the Mexican pottery of the middle of the seventeenth century that certain Mexican antiquaries believed that Chinese potters had been brought into Mexico to manufacture and decorate this ware. This inference, however, has been shown to be erroneous. The extensive importation of Chinese porcelains into Mexico, through the port of Acapulco on the southwest coast, about this time stimulated the artistic zeal of the Mexican potters, who soon commenced to imitate the Eastern forms and decorations. No examples have yet been discovered which reveal the unmistakable hand of an Oriental decorator.

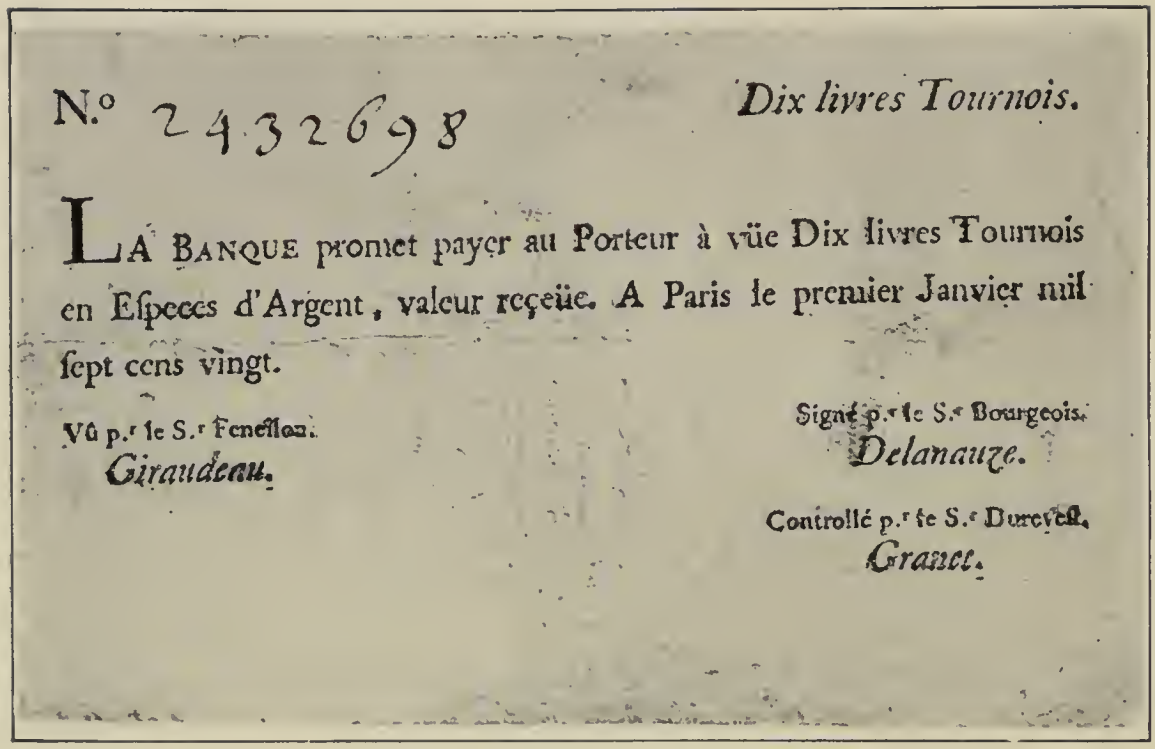
The fourth variety of Mexican maiolica is what may be called the Pueblan, or Hispano-Mexican style, which may be said to cover the period from about 1800 to 1860. About the beginning of the nineteenth century the Pueblan potters began to develop a hybrid style of their own, and materially increased the range of their color scale, so that on wares of this period we find decorations in the most gaudy colorings,—blue, green, yellow, red, brown and black. By this time the Chinese influence had entirely disappeared.

The decadence set in about the beginning of the nineteenth century and the pottery and tiles continued to degenerate until they had lost every artistic quality and had sunk to the level of the present commercial products of Puebla.

The art of maiolica making flourished in Puebla for three centuries, reaching its greatest perfection between 1650 and 1750. The thirty or more important factories which were in operation during the golden age of the art are now represented by half a

dozen establishments, where only common grades of ware are being produced.

All the churches in Mexico are fast falling into ruin. Many of them are being rapidly dismantled of their tile panels and other works of art. Some of them have been changed into hospitals and hotels. The time is not far distant when all that survives of the past glories of these structures will be found in public museums and private collections.



N.° 2432698 *Dix livres Tournois.*

LA BANQUE promet payer au Porteur à vüe Dix livres Tournois en Especes d'Argent, valeur reçeüe. A Paris le premier Janvier mil sept cens vingt.

Vû p.r le S.r Fenellon.
*Giraudeau.*

Signé p.r le S.r Bourgeois.
*Delanauze.*

Controllé p.r le S.r Durevell.
*Granet.*

Fig. 43. French Bank Note of 1720.

Fig. 44. French Assignat.

# A TALK ABOUT PAPER MONEY.

By John Story Jenks.

*(Read at the Meeting of the Society, March 18, 1912.)*

The Bank of Venice, the first establishment of the kind in Europe, was founded in 1171, and owed its existence to wars and the necessity of the government obtaining the means for conducting them. Having exhausted every other resource, the State was obliged to resort to a forced loan from its most opulent citizens. Then was organized the Chamber of Loans, which by degrees assumed the form under which, as the Bank of Venice, for many ages was the admiration of Europe. Funds once deposited in the bank could not be withdrawn, but were transferable at the pleasure of their owners upon its books. So thoroughly did the bank credits become the means through and by which the financial operations of the people were conducted that during its entire existence, with but slight exceptions, these credits were at a premium over coins, which latter were clipped and worn, as well as of various countries and uncertain values. That the people were well satisfied with this institution and its workings may be inferred from the fact that no book, speech or pamphlet have we found, says an eminent economical writer, in which any merchant or dweller in Venice ever put forth any condemnation of its theory or its practice. It continued in existence without interruption until the overthrow of the Republic by the French Revolutionary Army in 1797.

The Bank of Genoa went into operation in 1407, the Bank of Barcelona in 1401, the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609.

The Bank of England was founded in 1694, and at once issued notes, none of which were then of a denomination less than twenty pounds. In 1797 specie payments were suspended and notes of one pound issued. The suspension continued until May 1, 1823. The bank now issues notes of the denomination of five pounds and upwards, and when returned to the bank they are never reissued. The banks of Scotland and Ireland, however, issue notes as low as one pound.

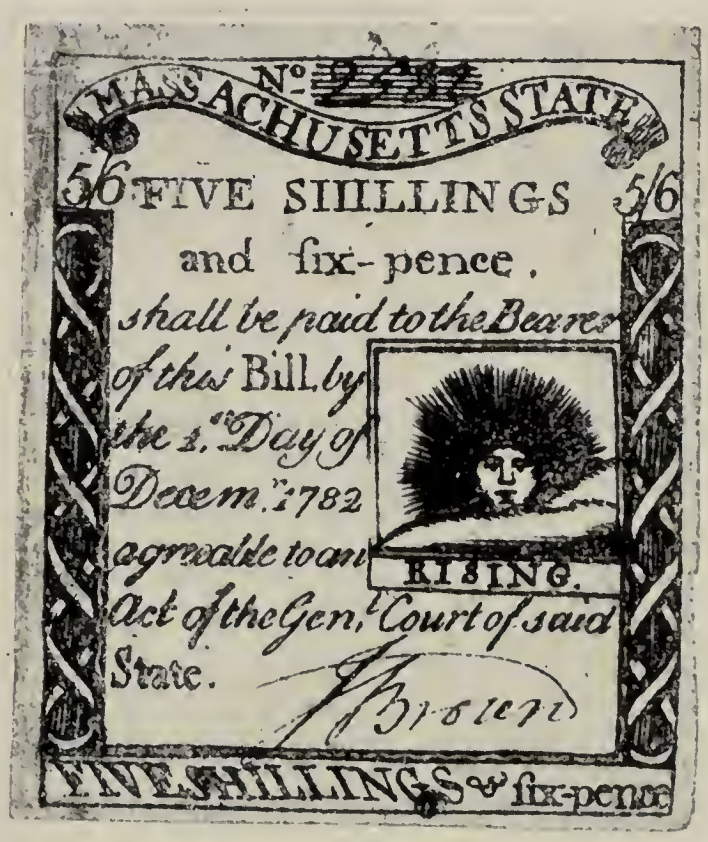
During the Napoleonic wars the currency of England was in a bad condition and tradesmen's tokens of copper and silver were issued, of which there were some fifteen hundred varieties. Spanish dollars and half dollars were also stamped in the center with a small likeness of George III and then passed current.

Italy largely depends on a paper currency and notes as low in denomination as a lira or franc circulate freely.

When the dead are buried in China, food and money are placed on the grave for their journey to the unknown land. As a proof of the Chinese economy, I present a specimen of a half dollar made of paper instead of silver to be burned at the grave.

During the siege of Leyden by the Spaniards in 1573–74, silver siege pieces were struck and also some of paper were issued, of which latter I show a specimen.

In France during the South Sea Bubble of John Law, in the era of wild speculation, paper money was issued, specimens of which I present for your inspection. John Law, born at Edinburgh in 1671, went to London in 1694, where by means of his handsome figure and graceful address he gained admission into fashionable society and supported himself by gaming. Having killed a man in a duel, he fled to the Continent, where he followed the trade of a gambler with great success in Paris, Venice, Genoa, etc. About 1715 he persuaded the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, to favor a scheme by which he promised to greatly improve the financial condition of the kingdom. In 1716 he obtained a charter for a general Bank of Issue and Discount, under the name of Law & Company. In connection with the bank he founded the Mississippi Company, with a capital of one hundred million francs, and with the exclusive right to trade between France and Louisiana, China, India, etc. The stock of these companies was bought with avidity and the bank became the royal bank, with the privilege of coining gold and silver. The hope of enormous profits infatuated the public so generally that the stock rose to twenty times its original value. In January, 1720, Law was made Prime Minister. The fall of this baseless fabric was sudden and ruinous in 1720 (Fig. 43), when the public confidence began to fail and the notes of his bank fell to one-tenth of their nominal value. Law was compelled to leave France and died poor at Venice in 1729. Again, during the French Revolution, the constituent Assembly of France, in 1790 issued paper money called assignats (Fig. 44), which, although based in gen-

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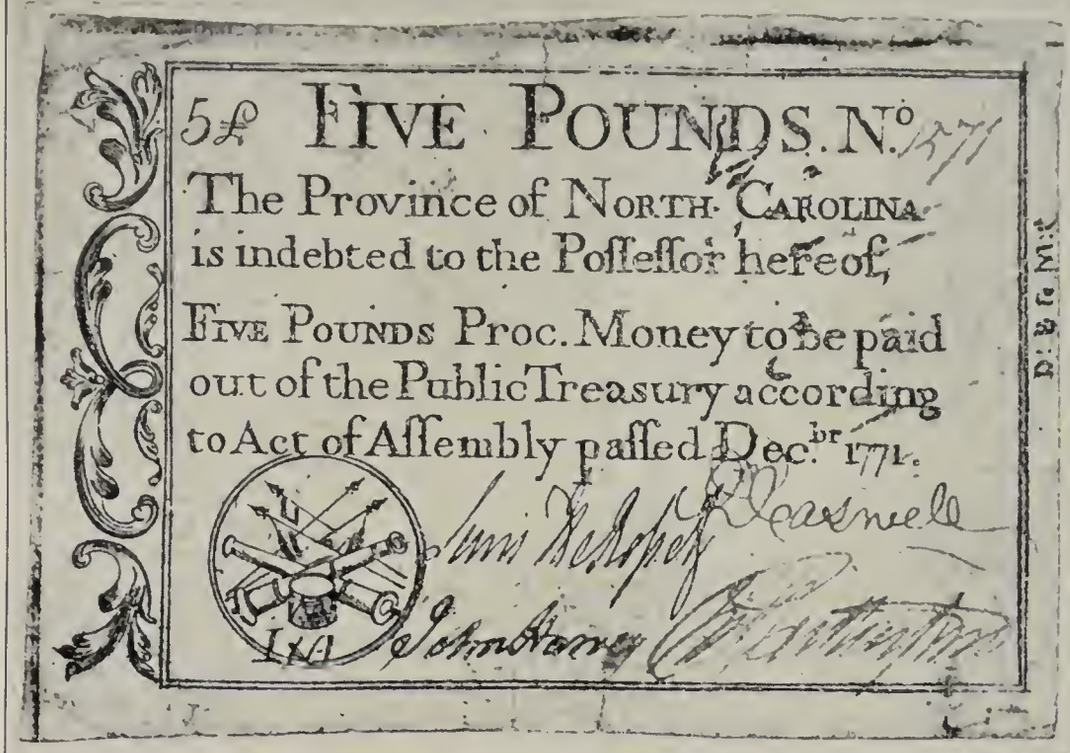
Figs. 45 and 46. Colonial Paper Money.

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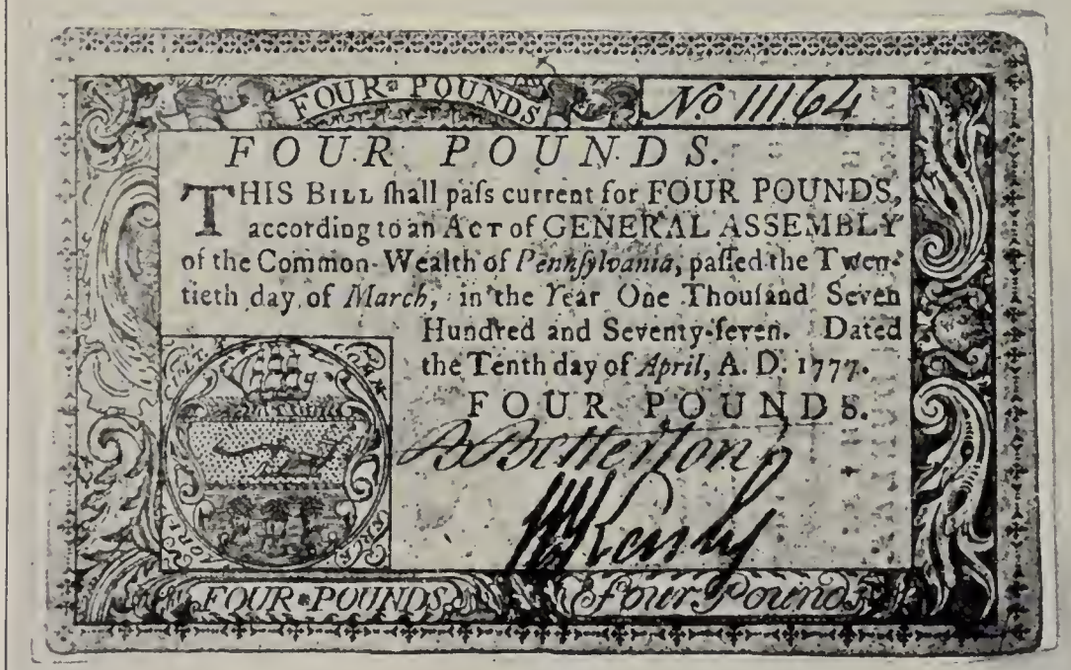


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Figs. 47 and 48. Colonial Paper Money.

eral terms on the proceeds of the sale of the confiscated goods of the Church, were so lavishly issued as to reach the incredible sum of forty thousand millions of francs, when they depreciated to nothing. Then followed a second kind of paper money, called mandate, which even the guillotine of Robespierre could not sustain. They were founded like the assignat on confiscated property, and two thousand four hundred millions of francs were issued, which after defraying the expenses of one campaign lost all their value.

The separate colonies forming the United States issued paper money before and during the Revolutionary War, Massachusetts as early as 1708. In the collection of the late Harmon A. Chambers, of Philadelphia, which was the largest ever formed, according to the statement of Mr. Henry Chapman, who sold it at auction, June 19 and 20, 1908, were specimens of the issues of Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia, comprising all the original states. (Figs. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49.) Pursuant to an Act of Assembly of May 4, 1778, Georgia issued notes to be paid within the space of twelve months, out of moneys arising from the sale of forfeited estates. (Fig. 50.) South Carolina issued in 1779, bills for forty dollars or sixty-five pounds current money of the State. (Figs. 51, 52.) In New York the Mayor and Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York in 1775 issued notes for the New York Water Works. (Figs. 53, 54.) I present specimens of these three issues. During the Revolutionary War the Continental currency was issued in large amounts, according to the resolutions of Congress meeting at Philadelphia, Yorktown and Baltimore. It was signed by officials appointed for the purpose, and bore on the reverse the legend, "To counterfeit is death." (Figs. 55, 56.) This paper money became less and less valuable as the volume increased and it was never redeemed. Most of the notes issued in Pennsylvania were printed by D. Hall and W. Sellers and by John Dunlap. Many an old trunk in the garrets of old houses contained a quantity of this money. I heard a member of this Society, now deceased, say at one of its meetings in 1863, that the United States greenbacks and postal currency issued during the war of the Rebellion would be as worthless as the Revolutionary issue. Fortunately for the country, his prediction was wrong.

Samuel Breck, in his historical sketch of "Continental Paper Money," read before the American Philosophical Society in 1843, states that the first emission was in 1775, and two million dollars was put in circulation. Twenty-eight citizens of Philadelphia were appointed to sign and number the bills, the names of two being necessary to each bill. Each gentleman was allowed out of the Continental Treasury one dollar and one-third for each and every one thousand bills signed and numbered by him. The whole amount of paper money issued during the war was about three hundred millions of dollars, but the collections made by the Continental Government in various ways, cancelled from time to time one-third, so that the maximum of circulation at no one period exceeded two hundred million. Nor did it reach that sum until its depreciation had compelled Congress to take it in and pay it out at the rate of forty paper dollars for one in hard money. The bills of the individual states had generally become so worthless that even Congress would not receive them into its Treasury. Congressional bills were, however, kept in circulation at a great discount until May, 1781, when they fell to five hundred and subsequently to one thousand paper dollars for one of silver, and ceased as a currency. The annihilation was so complete that barber shops were papered in jest with the bills, and the sailors on returning from their cruise, being paid off in bundles of this worthless money, had suits of clothes made out of it, and with characteristic light-heartedness turned their loss into a frolic by parading through the streets in decayed finery, which in its better days had passed for thousands of dollars.

After the Revolution the finances of the new republic were in a bad condition. Great suffering had been caused by the depreciation of the Continental currency, which, having become worthless, had at last ceased to circulate. It was estimated that the depreciation and repudiation of the Continental bills of credit imposed a tax upon the country amounting to seventy millions of specie dollars. In the State of New York a good deal of gold and silver was in circulation. This was in consequence of the large payments by the English Army at New York, and the remittances of gold and silver made by France to the Army and Navy here and by considerable importations from Havana and elsewhere. For several years after the war the currency was expressed in pounds, shillings and pence. The money of account of the United States, the dollar, dime, cent and mill, was legally

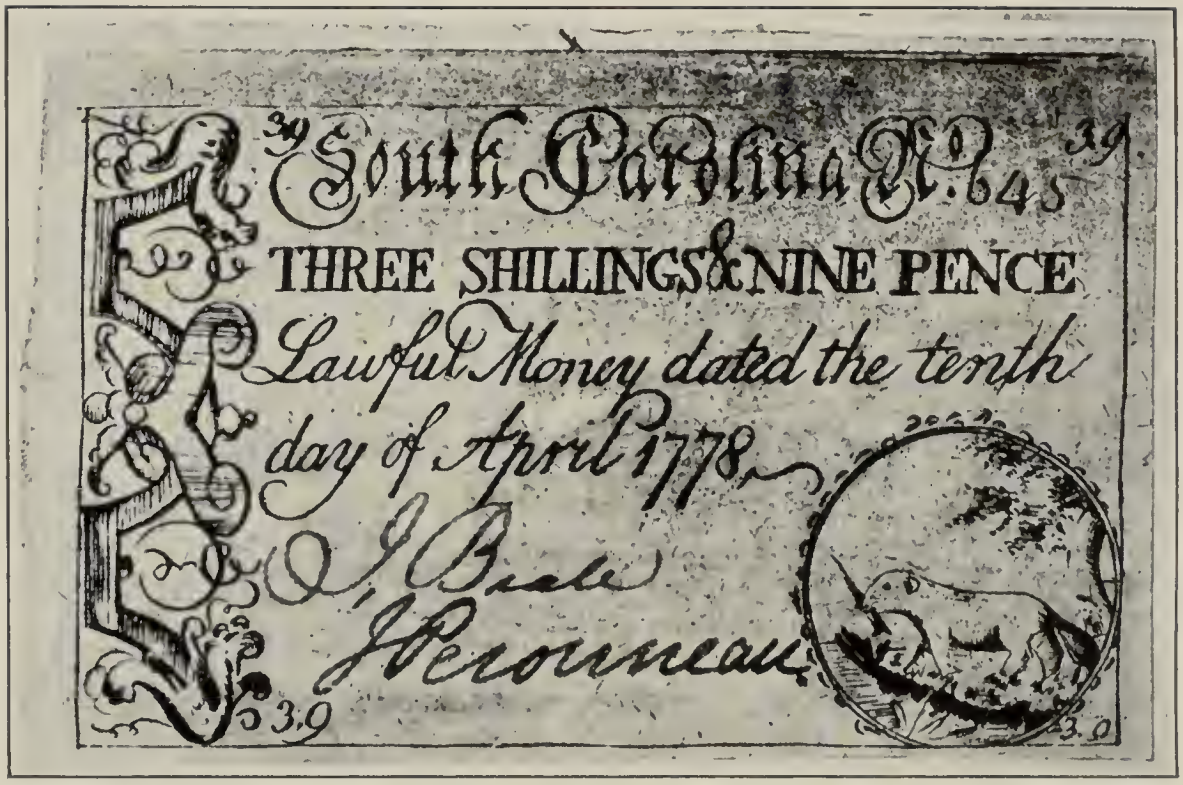
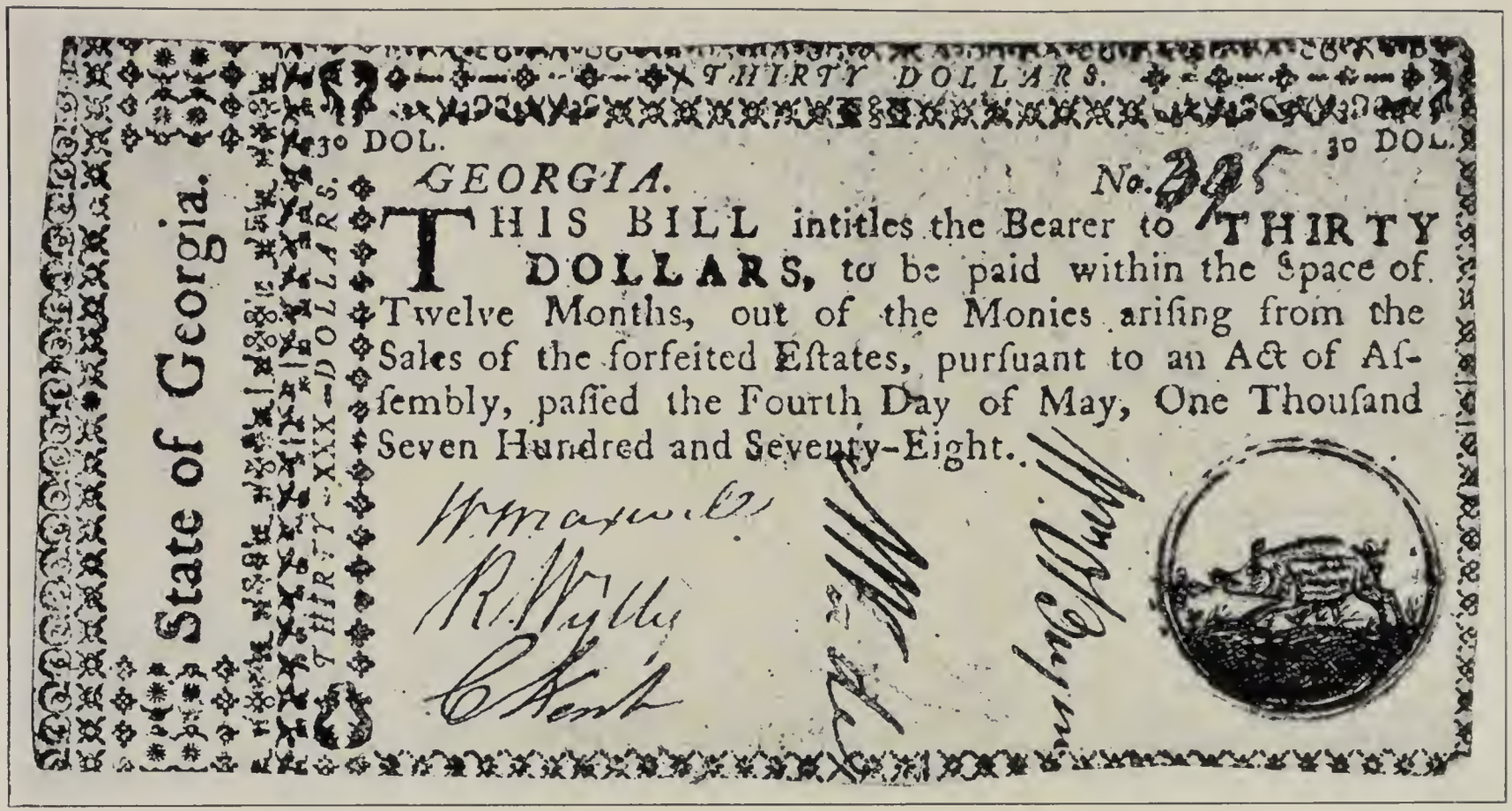



Fig. 49. Colonial Paper Money.



THIRTY DOLLARS.

30 DOL. 30 DOL.

State of Georgia.

THIRTY-XXX-DOLLARS.

GEORGIA. No. 395

THIS BILL intitles the Bearer to THIRTY DOLLARS, to be paid within the Space of Twelve Months, out of the Monies arising from the Sales of the forfeited Estates, pursuant to an Act of Assembly, passed the Fourth Day of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Eight.

Fig. 50. Colonial Paper Money.

adopted in New York by an act passed by the Legislature, June 27, 1797, which provided that a dollar should be equivalent to four-tenths of a pound.

Among the curious issues in the beginning of the nineteenth century I show here a five-dollar note as follows: "Territorial Treasury, N. W. of Ohio, Cincinnati, January 6, 1802, 1.04.6, countersigned redeemed 26th of February, 1806, Wm. McFarland." (Fig. 57.)

The need was felt for a national bank, which should not only aid the government on a large scale by its money and credit, but should extend facilities to individuals, and thereby benefit the community as well as the state. Through the influence and exertions of Robert Morris, then Superintendent of Finance for the United States, the Bank of North America at Philadelphia was organized with a capital of $400,000. It was incorporated by Congress in December, 1781, and by the state of Pennsylvania a few months afterward. It issued notes, and in 1815 of a denomination as low as five cents (in 1789 a note for one penny was issued, an example of which is shown in Fig. 2). When Congress in 1863 passed the act establishing a National Bank System, owing to the fact of its early incorporation and its having been originally chartered by Congress, the Bank of North America was allowed to retain its title without adding the word "National," as all other existing banks were forced to do.

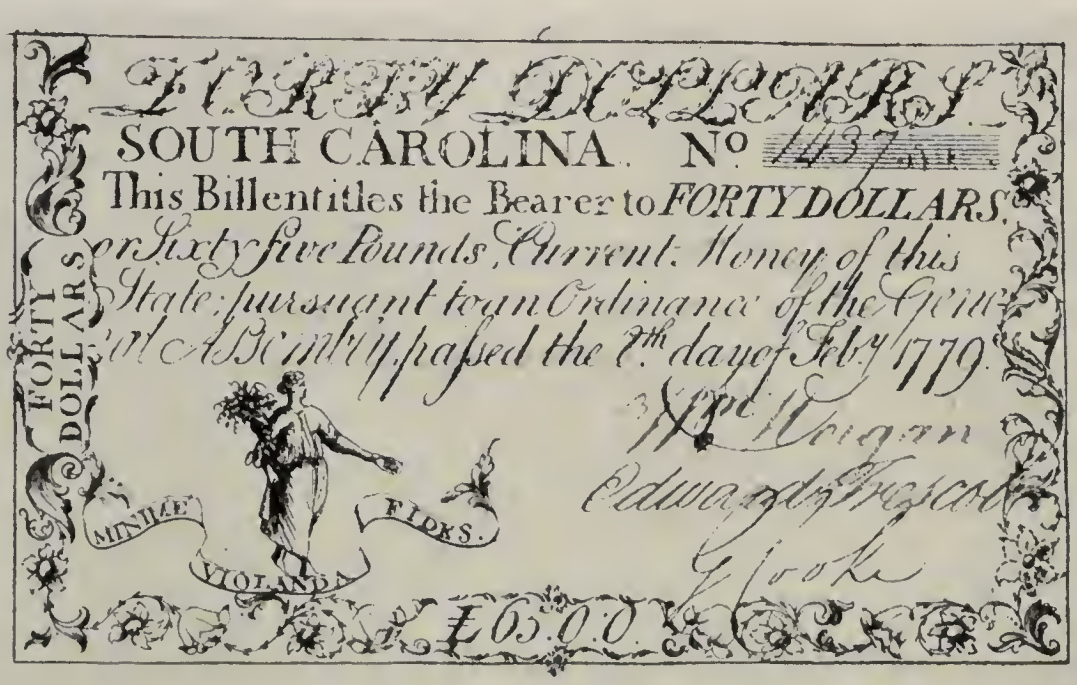
The first bank of the United States was chartered in 1791, and wound up in 1811. The second bank of the United States was started in 1816 and went out of existence in 1836, but was re-chartered by the State of Pennyslvania, and failed in 1840. Specie payments were suspended in 1837 and 1839.

In the period before the Civil War, and especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, banks, corporations and individuals issued notes of small denominations, some of the individual notes redeemable only in goods at their stores. It is said of one concern down in New Jersey, where their notes circulated, that an employee never got enough real money to pay his passage to Philadelphia. If he wanted to get away, he had to walk, as the railroads would not take these notes. Some of these shin plasters, as they were called, were payable usually when presented in sums amounting to five dollars and not in specie but in current Philadelphia bank notes.

The notes issued by a state bank only eireulated at par within the state; in another state the holder had to sell at a diseount, sometimes quite large. There were in all large eities brokers who were dealers in uneurrent money, as it was ealled. The present great banking house of Drexel & Company in its early days dealt largely in this money. The broker, after aeeumulating a suffieient amount of the notes of a partieular bank out of town to make it worth while, would send an employee with the notes to the town where the bank was loeated and demand payment in specie. The multiplicity of banks gave rise to much eounterfeiting and books were issued ealled "Counterfeit Deteetors" whieh had a large eireulation, containing pietures and descriptions of the various counterfeits. The great number of issues also increased the business of bank-note engraving and many large firms by whom beautiful work was executed, worked at it. This business has greatly deelined since the issue of national bank notes. I remember on one oecasion, when a lad, being sent by my employers to eolleet a bill from a firm in not very high credit, that I was told to get payment in some form and I reeeived the amount in out-of-town bank notes whieh I at once sold to the broker, having on some of the notes to aceept a discount of twenty per eent and the bank was no further away than the state of New Jersey. The aim of a bank was often to get its notes out where they would not soon return for redemption. Hence a drover going West to buy cattle or horses would get his note discounted at his bank and take their bank notes with him to the then far West to pay for his purehases. These notes would be months or years in getting back to the bank for redemption and sometimes never returned, making a niee profit for the issuing bank. It was told of Simon Cameron, the Pennsylvania senator, who was president and a large stoekholder in the Bank of Middletown, Pennsylvania, that being appointed by the government as agent to pay annuities to the Winnebago Indians in a far western state he took with him the notes of the Bank of Middletown and paid the Indians with them. Few, if any, ever got baek to the bank for redemption. Afterwards Cameron was ealled by his opponents the "Winnebago Chief."

I present to you some speeimens of the shin-plaster eurreney, as follows:

The Manual Labor Bank of Dr. Dyott, for 12½ eents.




51

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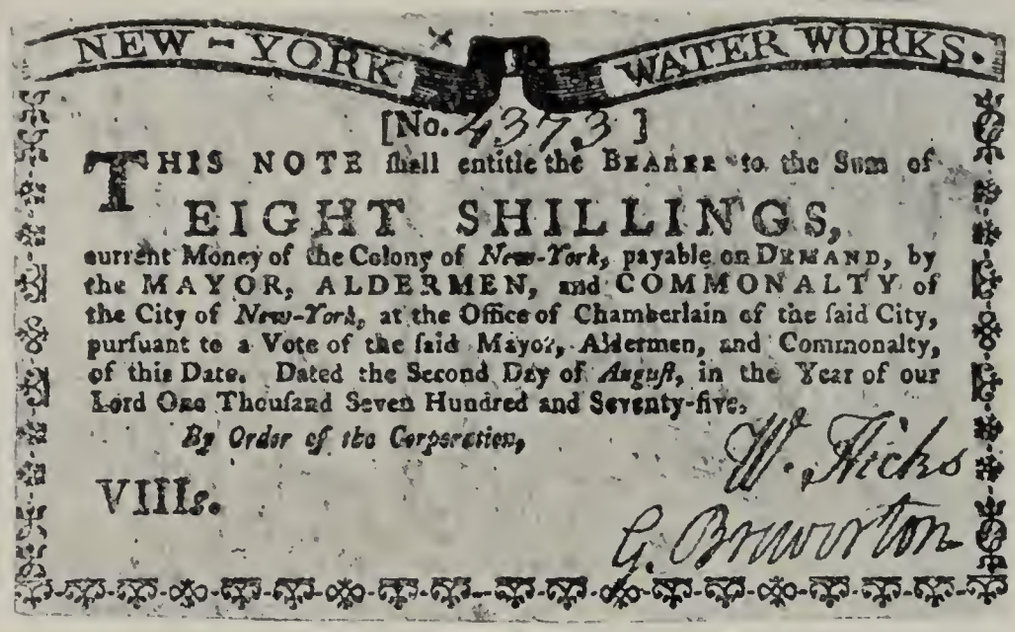
Fig. 51. Colonial Paper Money.
Fig. 52. Reverse of Fig. 51.



NEW-YORK WATER WORKS.

[No. 4373]

THIS NOTE shall entitle the BEARER to the Sum of

EIGHT SHILLINGS,

current Money of the Colony of *New-York*, payable on DEMAND, by the MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMONALTY of the City of *New-York*, at the Office of Chamberlain of the said City, pursuant to a Vote of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of this Date. Dated the Second Day of *August*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five.

*By Order of the Corporation,*

VIIIs.

W. Hicks

G. Brewerton

53

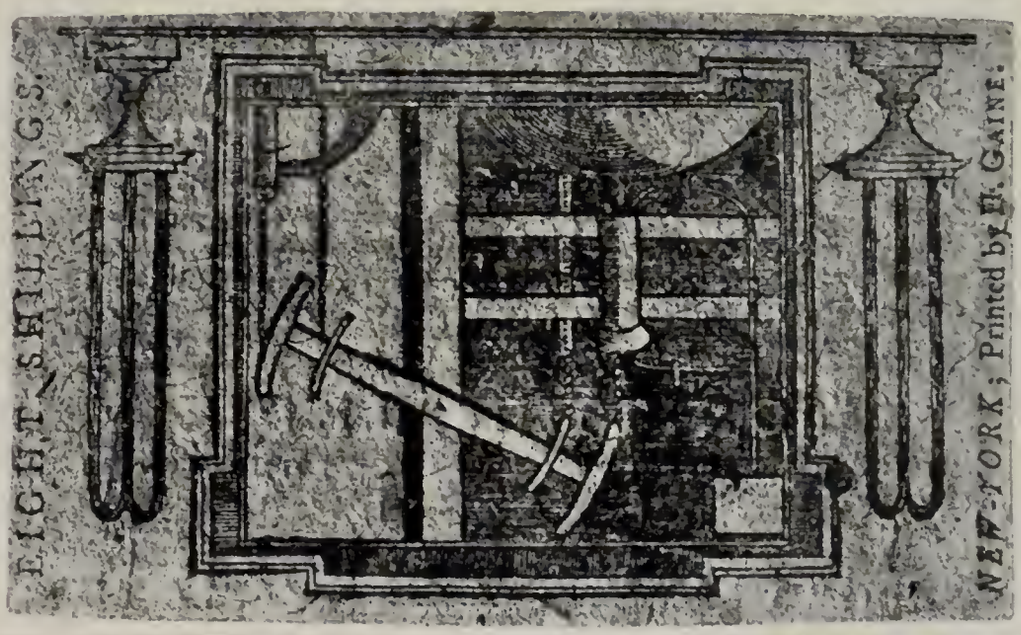



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Fig. 53. New York Water Works.
Fig. 54. Reverse of Fig. 53.

The Philadelphia Loan Company for 25 cents, reading as follows:

Received by
The Philadelphia Loan Company
on deposit for one year from Benjamin Duncan
Ten thousand dollars, twenty-five cents
of which with one per cent. interest will be payable to him
or bearer, in current Philadelphia Bank notes when presented in sums amounting to Five Dollars.
Philadelphia, April 6th, 1838.
William Stephens, for Geo. S. Schott,
Prest.
T. M. Moore, Cashier.

(Fig. 58.) Also notes for six and one-quarter and twelve and a half cents and numerous other issues. The reason of the issue of these notes for fractional denominations was the fact that until a date just anterior to the Civil War the Spanish and Mexican silver dollar and its subdivisions passed current in the United States. The eight-real piece was a dollar, four reals half a dollar, two reals twenty-five cents, one real twelve and a half cents, and a half a real six and one-quarter cents. The last two denominations were called "levies" and "fips" and were often so worn that no inscription was visible. In the South the levy was called a "bit." Here is a note of the City of Mobile, Alabama, for four bits or fifty cents, issued in 1837. I also show you a note for $100 issued by the Mississippi and Alabama Railroad Company at Brandon, Mississippi, in March, 1837. (Fig. 59.) This railroad was chartered in the State of Mississippi with banking privileges and the notes were issued in large volume and brought to Philadelphia by Mississippi merchants to pay their debts. The railroad failed, they were never redeemed and large losses resulted to Philadelphia merchants from this "Brandon" money as it was called.

The destruction of slavery was the great blessing of the Civil War. Next to it, I think, was the establishment of a national bank system, by which a note issued by any national bank circulated at par all over the United States. Even if the national bank had failed the note was still good, being secured by United States bonds deposited at Washington with the United States Treasurer.

As the Bank of North America was the first bank chartered by the United States Government in 1781, so under the National Bank Act, approved February 25, 1863, the charter of the First National Bank of Philadelphia is No. 1 of the national bank charters.

The State of California always stuck to gold and silver as a circulating medium. In 1870, four banks, three in California and one in Massachusetts, were chartered by the government in accordance with an Act of Congress, approved July 12, 1870. These banks issued notes payable in gold coin, like the specimen I show to you, issued by the First National Gold Bank of San Francisco. Some of these notes made their way East, and I am told by the cashier of one of our city banks that, as, until specie payments were resumed, these notes were worth a premium, the president of the bank where he was then a clerk gave the finder half the premium when in counting currency a gold note was discovered by him.

Soon after the outbreak of the Rebellion specie payments were suspended and the United States Government issued paper money or greenbacks, as they were called, in large amount and in various denominations. Gold at one time during the war reached a premium of $2.70 to $2.80. Small change became scarce and gold and silver disappeared from circulation. To meet this scarcity in a small measure at first postage stamps were encased by various firms and circulated as currency, serving also to advertise the firm issuing them. This led to the issue by the United States of notes less than one dollar. The first issue was called postage currency and was receivable for postage stamps at any post-office and was exchangeable for United States notes by any assistant treasurer in sums of not less than five dollars, according to the act of July 17, 1862. Subsequent issues of these notes, under the act of March 3, 1863, were called fractional currency and were receivable for all United States stamps and exchangeable for United States notes in sums of not less than three dollars. The first issue was known as postage currency, from the fact that the notes bore the representation on their face of postage stamps of various denominations. This currency was issued in large volume of denominations of fifty cents, twenty-five cents, fifteen cents, ten cents, five cents and three cents. The later notes bore the portraits of Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Dexter, Crawford, Stanton, Fessenden, Walker, Mere-

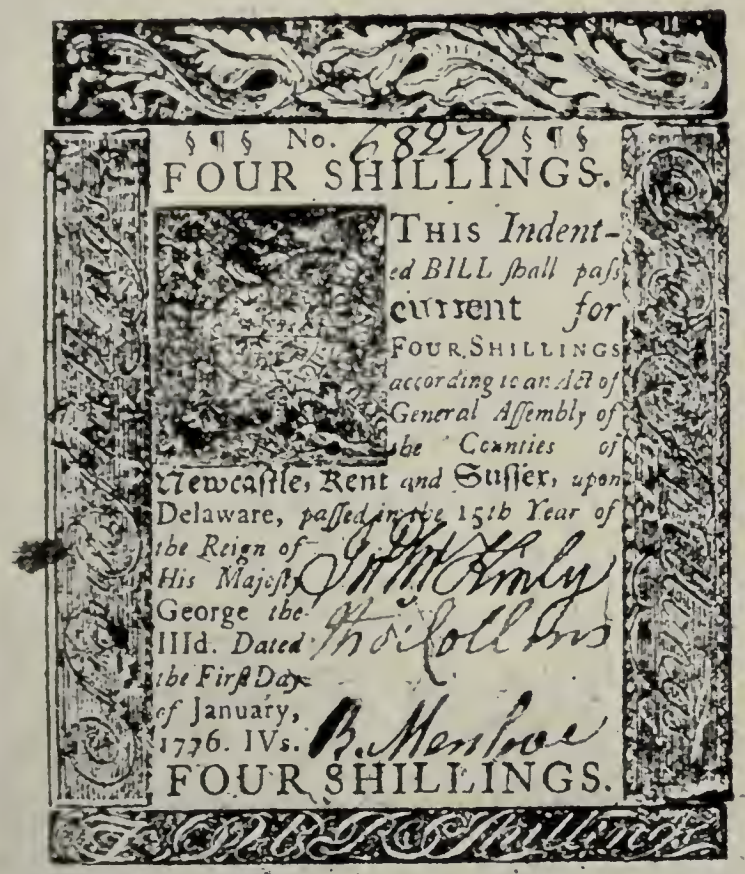


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Fig. 55. Colonial Paper Money.

Fig. 56. Reverse of Fig. 55.

Fig. 57. Territorial Treasury, N. W. the Ohio.

Fig. 58. Shin Plaster Currency.

Fig. 59. "Brandon" Money.

dith and Spinner, and later on the five-cent note a minor official of the United States Treasury, Spencer M. Clark, chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, put his own portrait. This caused criticism and I think the portraits of living men were afterwards excluded. I present for your inspection a set of these various issues. It seems strange to us now that during and for years after the Civil War a child saw only these notes. Silver was practically unknown to them. Now this fractional currency is equally unknown to the child of to-day.

At the outbreak of the Civil War the Confederate Government seized the mint at New Orleans and a few silver half dollars were coined, containing on the obverse the figure of Liberty seated, as on the United States half dollars, and on the reverse a shield and the words "Confederate States of America," like the specimen I show you.

During the continuance of the war paper money of the Confederate States Government and of the various states and towns comprising the Confederacy was issued in large volume and great variety of style and denomination. This formed the circulating medium of the Confederacy. It became, of course, worthless at the close of the war, having in the meanwhile declined rapidly in value. Bonds of the Confederacy were also issued, payable after the declaration of peace. I submit specimens of many of these issues for your inspection.

# INSURANCE AND BUSINESS ADVENTURE IN THE DAYS OF SHAKESPEARE AND IN THOSE OF WILLIAM PENN.

By Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson.

*(Read at the Meeting of the Society, April 15, 1912.)*

Some time ago while looking over a mass of family papers, my attention was drawn to a musty, though neatly folded document quite yellow with age.

Upon examination, it proved to be a policy of insurance for £360 at seven per cent on the sloop "George," Captain Burrows (registered in Book D, folio 123, for John Saunders and William Ibison), issued by John Saunders to William Fisher & Co. under date December 5, 1757, and underwritten by three Philadelphia merchants. (Figs. 60, 61.)

Unfortunately, the first signature had been carefully cut out in former days, probably to be used as an autograph, and we may perhaps infer from this that the signer was a person of note in his time. The other underwriters were Thomas Yorke and James and Drinker.

As John Saunders' insurance office was the first opened in this country of whose transactions there is any record, and as the earliest of his policies now extant is dated but a few years earlier than mine, the latter seems to possess some small antiquarian value. Moreover, the quaint wording of these early policies, which has survived almost unaltered in that of our own time, is suggestive of bygone commercial conditions which in these days of a fully developed commerce are not without interest.

As is well known, the principle of insurance was first applied to commercial shipments. Life and fire insurance, like burglary insurance and other modern applications of the idea, were but the extension of the original device to special classes of risks.[1]

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[1] An anonymous pamphlet published in 1662 under the title, "A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions," which refers to insurance, tends to show that at this time, fire insurance was a new idea in Great Britain. The great fire of London (1666) gave impetus to the undertaking. Soon after the Restora-

At the time when insurance was introduced into current practice, it was the natural outcome of the harassing conditions under which the nascent commerce of western Europe labored. The full meaning of the prayer for "persons travelling by land and by water" which still survives in our church rituals, can only be appreciated in these days of safe and rapid transit, by those of us who are old enough to have ventured on long sea journeys prior to the common use of ocean steamers and who have traveled over land in Conestoga wagons or in the misnamed and now obsolete diligence. Even such experiences in the recent past can afford but a faint idea of the hardships suffered and of the dangers incurred by our forefathers when, upon business or other duty bent, they ventured far from home. Their discomforts we may well take for granted. But we have substantial and accurate data upon which to base a fairly exact calculation as to the actual chances of a well-to-do traveler's return from an eastern trip in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These were at the time estimated as one to three, or even one to five. That is, an Englishman about to undertake a journey to Constantinople or to Jerusalem, might bet, so to speak, one to three or one to five upon his safe return and readily find takers.

It was then no uncommon thing for a man like Fynes Morrison, for instance, to "put out"—as it was then termed—say £400 to borrowers who engaged to pay him £1200, *i.e.*, three to one—upon his safe return.[2] In the case of Fynes Morrison, he lived to claim his profit. But his brother Henry died on the way and forfeited his output. Such a transaction is dealt with by Ben Jonson in "Every Man out of his Humour" (Act 2, Sc. 1), where Puntarvolo determines, as he says, to "put forth some £5,000 to be paid me five to one upon the return of myself, wife,

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tion, a scheme of fire insurance was framed by "several persons of quality and eminent citizens of London" which seems to have resulted in the formation of "The Corporation of London" (1681). In 1667 a son of "Praise-God-Barebones" of Cromwell's Parliament, Dr. Nicholas Barbon, opened an office. He and his associates were the founders of the first stock company known as the "Fire Office" which grew to sufficient strength to successfully oppose the Corporation of London (1681–2) when the latter issued policies under the name of "The City's Design and Undertaking for the Insuring of Houses Against the Evil of Fire." From the end of the seventeenth to that of the eighteenth century some forty companies were formed in England, and a number more in Scotland and Ireland.

[2] See "Shakespeare's Europe," by Ch. Hughes, London, 1903.

# WHereas We William Fisher & Company

of the City of Philadelphia, Merchants have made Assurance, and cause to be assured, (lost or not lost) at and from the Port of Philadelphia to Charles town in South Carolina

upon the *Body, Tackle, Apparel,* and all other the *Furniture* of the good Sloop called the George of the Burden of Tons or thereabouts, whereof is Master, under G O D, for this present Voyage John Borrows or whosoever else shall go for Master in the said Ship, or by whatsoever other Name or Names the same Ship, or the Master thereof, is, or shall be named or called, beginning the Adventure upon the said Ship, Tackle, Apparel, *&c.* at and from Philadelphia aforesaid and so shall continue and endure until the said Ship shall be safely arrived at So Carolina aforesaid, and until she be moored Twenty and Four Hours in good Safety. And it shall and may be lawful for the said Ship in her Voyage to proceed and sail to, touch and stay at any Ports or Places, if thereunto obliged by Stress of Weather or other unavoidable Accident, without Prejudice to this Insurance. The said Ship, Tackle, *&c.* for so much as it concerns the Assured by Agreement made between the Assured and Assurers in this POLICY, are and shall be valued without any further Account to be given by the Assured to the Assurers, or any of them for the same. Touchings the Adventures and Perils, which we the Assurers are contented to bear, and do take upon us in this Voyage, they are, of the *Seas, Men of War, Fires, Enemies, Pirates, Rovers, Thieves, Jettesons, Letters of Mart and Counter Mart, Surprisals, Taking at Sea, Arrests, Restraints and Detainments, of all Kings, Princes or People of what Nation, Condition or Quality soever, Barratry of the Master and Mariners,* and all other Perils, Losses and Misfortunes, that have or shall come to the Hurt, Detriment or Damage of the said Ship or any Part thereof. And in case of any Losses or Misfortunes, it shall be lawful to and for the Assured their Factors, Servants and Assigns, to sue, labour and travel for, in and about the Defence, Safeguard and Recovery of the said

Ship or any Part thereof without Prejudice to this Insurance, to the Charges whereof we the Assurers will contribute each one, according to the Rate and Quantity of his Sum herein Assured. And it is agreed by us the Assurers, that this Writing or Policy of Assurance, shall be of as much Force and Effect, as the surest Wrting or Policy of Assurance heretofore made in *Lombard-Street*, or elsewhere in *LONDON*. And so we the Assurers are contented, and do hereby promise and bind ourselves each one for his own Part, our Heirs, Executors and Goods, to the Assured their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, for the true Peformance of the Premisses, confessing ourselves paid the Consideration due unto us for the Assurance, by the said Assured or their Assigns at Seven P Cent

In Witness whereof, WE the Assurers have subscribed our Names and Sums Assured in *Philadelphia*, the Fifth Day of December One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty seven

Memorandum, *It is agreed by and between the Assured and Assurers, that in Case of any Loss above* Five per Cent, *there shall be no Abatement. But that in Case of any Average Loss not exceeding* Five Pound per Cent, *the Assurers, by Agreement, are not to pay or allow any thing toward such Loss.*

*It is further agreed, that if any dispute shall arise, relating to a Loss on this POLICY, it shall be refered to two indifferent Persons, one to be chosen by the Assured, the other by the Assurer or Assurers, who shall have full Power to adjust the same; but in Case they cannot agree, then such two Persons shall chuse a Third and any two of them agreeing, shall be Obligatory to both Parties.*

*It is agreed also between the Assured and Assurers, That in Case of Loss the Money shall not be paid until the Expiration of three Months after Proof made of the same.*

£100. One hundred pounds

£100 One hundred pounds — Thos Yorke

£160 One hund. and sixty pounds — James and Drinker

Fig. 60. Maritime Policy, dated Dec. 5, 1752

and my dog from the Turk's Court in Constantinople. If all or either of us miscarry in the journey, 'tis gone. If we be successful, why, there will be five and twenty thousand paid to entertain time withal." The full details of the bargain are furthermore given in Act IV, Sc. 4. Many allusions to this order of venture occur in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, notably in Shakespeare,[3] and at least two blank forms of the legal documents used at this period for the purpose are known to be in existence.[4] While the method above described is the precise opposite to that by which the present theory of life and accident insurance is carried out, it nevertheless represents an early attempt to turn personal risk to financial account, and as such it is not without interest. Its chief importance to us just now, however, is that it furnishes a practical test of the actual risk of foreign travel at the time. The practice, which had originated at court among noblemen, continued until the middle of the seventeenth century, when its abuse by "bankerouts, stage players, and other men of base condition" is said to have brought it into disrepute.[5] At this time the merits of life insurance had been fully recognized.[6] Well might Shylock say: "Ships are but boards and saylers are but men, there be land rats and water rats, land theeves and water theeves, I mean Pyrats; and then there is the perill of the water, windes and rocks." Indeed these are

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[3] "The Tempest," Act III, Sc. 3.

[4] These are given in West's ''Symboleography" (1605), and in the second part of "The Young Clerk's Guide" (1652).

[5] Malone, quoted by Dr. Horace Howard Furness in "The Tempest," Act III, Sc. 3, Note (Var. Ed.).

[6] The earliest known life insurance company was established in 1699 and was called "The Society of Assurance for Widows and Orphans." It was an assessment company. It did not guarantee any special amount, but its 2,000 members on the death of one member contributed 5*s*. This was intended to raise £500 on the death of each member, if all paid up. The earliest life assurance policy of which we have knowledge was made on June 15, 1583, at the Office of Insurance within the Royal Exchange in London. It was for £383, 6*s*, 8*d*, to be paid to Richard Martin in the event of William Gibbons' death occurring within twelve months. The policy was underwritten by thirteen different persons who guaranteed from £25 to £50 each. The premium was eight per cent. It gave rise to litigation because Gibbons died in May, 1584, and the underwriters declined to pay because they held that he had lived twelve lunar months of twenty-eight days each. They lost. The Hand in Hand Company which dates its existence back to 1696, when it was called "The Amicable," only began to take life risks in 1836.

but a few of the dangers enumerated in the old policies of insurance, as threatening a merchant's venture. "Perils of the sea, men of war, Fires, Enemies, pirates, Rovers, Theeves, Jettesons, Letters of mark and Counter mark, Surprisals, Taking at sea, Arrests, Restraints and Detainments of all Kings, Princes, or People of whatever nation, condition or quality soever, Barratry of the master and Mariners and all other Perils, Losses and Misfortunes that have or shall come to the Hurt, Detriment or Damage of the said Ship or any part thereof." Although the wording of modern policies of marine insurance remains practically the same, many of the dangers mentioned have become more or less nominal, and all are now reduced to a minimum. But when insurance was first devised they were appallingly imminent. So real were they in the tenth century, for instance, that King Athelstan, in order to offer his subjects an incentive higher than that of mere gain to brave the hazards of sea trading, enacted a law by which a merchant who had made three voyages beyond seas was raised to the dignity of a Thane.[7] Although conditions gradually improved, we are safe in asserting that the early underwriters, when they assumed such risks, displayed quite as much business nerve as do modern Wall Street operators.

All royal decrees were by no means so favorable to commerce as King Athelstan's, and when to the personal risks enumerated above are added those incurred through the whimsical enactments of rulers, by which the legitimate results of the arduous undertakings of traders might at any time be ruinously affected, it becomes a matter of surprise that any were found ready to venture. As an illustration, in early times all wrecks in England were regarded as the property of the Crown. Under Henry I the harshness of this extraordinary law was mitigated by a legal interpretation of the word "wreck." This was then construed to mean that no human being had survived, and, subsequently, that neither man nor beast had survived. Again, under Edward I (1275) it was decreed that all foreign merchants must sell their goods within forty days from their arrival in port. The period was from time to time altered; but this was only one of the many vexatious limitations placed upon them by the jealousy of the home trade. They were not allowed to buy from or to sell to one another. No cash was permitted to leave the country. Traders

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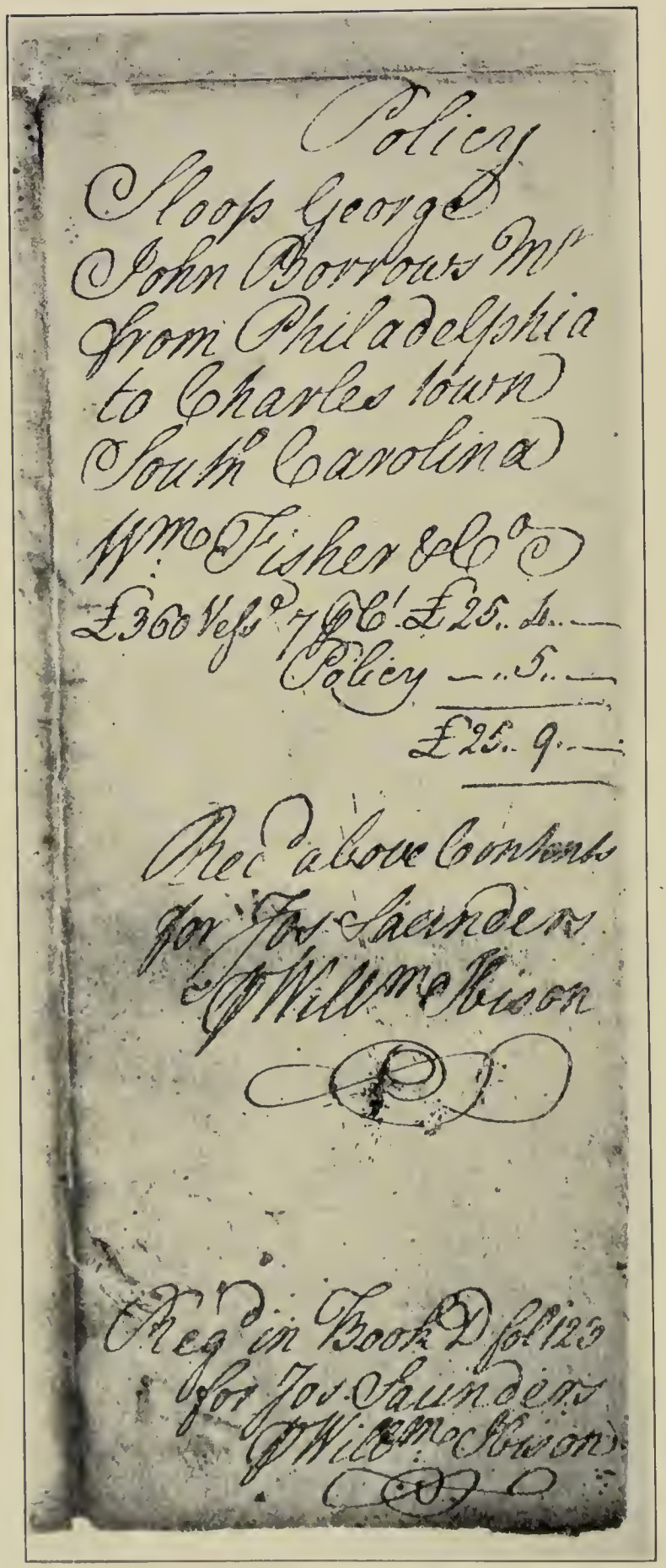
[7] Hallam, "The Middle Ages," III, 20 (quoting Wilkins, p. 71).



Policy
Sloop George
John Borrows Mr
from Philadelphia
to Charles town
South Carolina
Wm Fisher & Co
£360 Vessd 7 pCt £25. 4. —
Policy — . 5. —
£25. 9. —

Recd above Contents
for Jos Saunders
pr Willm Ibison

Regd in Book D fol 123
for Jos Saunders
pr Willm Ibison

Fig. 61. Endorsement of Maritime Policy.

could not take away the proceeds of their sales, but must either invest such proceeds in British commodities for export or must confine themselves to barter.[8] Only under Richard II (act of 1390) and Henry V (act of 1400) were foreign merchants allowed to carry away fifty per cent. of their sales, the balance being invested in English goods for export. Innkeepers at the English ports were induced to watch their patrons, by receiving a proportion of the forfeited values denounced by them. This proportion varied, but reached as high as one-third. Even Edward III, who is called by Hallam the father of British commerce, while he granted foreign traders a general charter giving them protection and certain privileges, still held them vicariously responsible for each other's crimes.

As late as 1517 a ship belonging to the Pope was obliged to put into Southampton and was claimed by Henry VIII as forfeited. The Papal Legate demanded that the case be tried and asked for the service of a skilled English lawyer. Sir Thomas More was appointed.[9]

It is under such depressing restrictions that early international trade felt its way in mediæval Europe. It will be seen that it required then no mean courage to be a merchant. Commerce at best was no peaceful occupation; and its pursuit called forth all the sterner virile qualities that prepared the way for the ascendency of the great commercial republics of Venice and Genoa.

What modern business man, when witnessing a performance of "The Merchant of Venice," has not been impressed with the chasm existing between our own trade conditions and those that made possible poor Antonio's plight? Who among us has not found comfort in the thought that to-day, by exercising mere common prudence, we are secure from the remotest approach to such contingencies as those which placed him helpless—but for a woman's wit—in the clutches of Shylock? The distress of Tannhauser's enforced pilgrimage to the Holy Land, on foot, cut off from all communication with those whom he loved, seems to us scarcely more remote from the possibilities of our experience than the dangers that jeopardized good Antonio's fortune. And yet the Merchant of Venice, according to Shakespearian experts, was

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[8] Edward I, however, while prohibiting exports of money, authorized bills of exchange through which amounts could be remitted abroad.

[9] "Introduction to the Utopia of Sir Thomas More," by W. D. Armes. Ed. (1912). New York: Macmillan Company.

written between 1594 and 1598[10]—that is to say, at a time when marine insurance had been in successful operation for some four centuries or more.

It has been asserted that the principle of insurance in some form goes back to darkest antiquity and is contemporaneous with trade.[11] As, however, the evidence is contradictory, and no

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[10] "The Merchant of Venice" was entered by James Roberts in the *Stationer's Register*, July 22, 1598. But was first published in 1660 as "The Excellent History of the Merchant of Venice—with the extreme cruelty of Shylock the Jew towards the same Merchant in cutting a just pound of his flesh. And the obtaining of Portia by the choice of the Caskets."

[11] There seems to be abundant evidence of the existence of some such device; and I am indebted to Mr. Wistar Brown, who at the instigation of Mr. John Frederick Lewis, after I had submitted the present paper to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, very kindly looked up and verified the references to the subject from the following:

Passages from Titus Livius (lib. 23, n. 49; lib. 25, n. 3) and Suetonius (lib. 25, n. 21) imply that the government of republican Rome on two occasions, and once under the reign of Claudius, had assumed the risk of losses that might arise during certain voyages. Cicero (lib. 2, epis. 17) asks the Proquaestor Cannius Sallust at Laodicea to procure sureties for treasure he should be sending home. Laws relating to usury in the Justinian Code and Pandects (A. D. 529 and 533) specified rate of interest granted to nautical insurance. The extensive use of bottomry and respondencia affords a presumption of the existence of a simple form of insurance. Moreover, the "nauticum faenus," the "trajectitia" or "nautica pecunia," terms indicating an obligation connected with the risk of marine transportation, resembled insurance.

Insurance as a wager was known to the Romans. From the above scattered evidence it might be fair to conclude that insurance in some form was practised.

As against the above, it may be said that no application to insurance can be made of the passages in Livius and Suetonius. They merely state that the merchants were to transport the goods at the risk of the government. Also that the reference in Cicero's letter has closer affinity to bill, of exchange than to insurance. Also that Justinian's Code referred only to maritime interest in a bond of bottomry or hypothecation and not to a premium on insurance. Again, that faenius nauticum, trajectitia or nautica pecunia, were payments for money advanced or were terms used to indicate the loan—the rate being higher owing to greater risks. Moreover, there is no evidence of a premium having been paid. Roman navigation was for war, not trade, which was limited and exposed to little risk. It may also be said that insurance is not a wager; and a knowledge of the latter in no way implies knowledge of insurance. Then there is no positive information of the use of insurance among Phenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks; and the Roman laws, the laws of Oleron, of Wisby, and the Hanse Towns, are silent on

reference to insurance appears in the older compilations of sea laws controlling European maritime commerce prior to the Regulations of Barcelona (1433),[12] it may be as well, without attempt-

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the subject. Therefore authorities differ. Emerigon, Bedarride ("Com. de Code de Commerce," Sect. 1004), Duer (On Insurance, ed. 1845, 7 *et seq.*), Gibbon ("Decline and Fall," Millman's ed., 1860, vol. 4, 368), who connects usury laws with nautical insurance; Walford ("Ins. Guide," 2d ed., 3) relying on Hendricks (A sur. Mag., vol. II), who does not go as far as Gibbon, but sees in them the traditional groundwork of insurance system and quotes Leybourn to the effect that insurance was established by law under Claudius); and Malynes ("Lex Mercatoria," ed. 1622, 146)—all take the affirmative position; while others—Marshall (I s, 5th ed., 2 *et seq.*); Park (On Ins., 4th ed., III *et seq.*); Hopkins ("Marine Ins.," ed. 1867, 2–16); Parsons ("Maritime Ins.," ed. 1868, ed. 1, *et seq.*); also Parsons ("Maritime Law," c. 1) and American Cyclopedia, (31, 314); Richards (On Ins., ed. 1892, sec. 5, p. 5), who says it probably started in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Hunter ("Roman Law," 472, note) speaks of maritime loans, pecuna, trajectitia, and says Justinian in them fixes the maximum of interest. Ortolan ("Roman Laws," Mears ed., 1876, 258) defines "trajectitia" or "nautica pecunia" as a loan or pledge during a voyage, and asserts that on account of the risk a higher rate of interest was allowed. He says Justinian's Code fixed rates for maritime loans (*ibid.*, 300, n. 1658). And Justice ("Treatise on the Sea," ed. 1705, III, 259 and 255) speaks of money lent to sea or on the sea as "faenus nauticum, trajectitia, pecunia usura maritime," and translates "faenus nauticum" as interest, giving as reason that there is "such difference between the faenus nauticum of the Rhodians and our bottomry, that the latter would not be a proper term for the former." From the above Mr. Brown rather inclines to the belief that there are traces of the insurance contract among the Romans, basing this opinion upon Emerigon's view based on laborious researches. If so, however, it was in no way the transaction understood to-day by the term of "insurance" and represented the idea in its most simple form. I am indebted to Professor John C. Rolfe for a reference to Marquardt's "Privat Leben," p. 405, a high German authority, who denies the knowledge of insurance among the Romans, basing his view upon the passages of Livy and Suetonius mentioned above in support: Liv. 23, 49, 2: "Duo postulata fuere, unum . . . alterum, ut quai in naves imposuissent ab hostium tempestatisque vi publico periculo essent. Utroque impetrato conduxerunt." Liv. 25, 3, 10: "Ni, quia publicum periculum erat a vi tempestatis in risquae portarentur ad exercitus, et ementiti erant falsa naufragia et ipsa quae vera renuntiaverant, fraude ipsorum facta erant non casu." Suetonius Claud. 18: "nam et negotiatoribus certa lucra proposuit, suscepto in se damno, si qui quid per tempestates accidissent." Under the circumstances, I have preferred in the present paper to deal with the origins of insurance proper, as known to us, leaving the question of how far the Romans came to understand its principles to others.

[12] It has been stated that the Rhodian laws mentioned insurance. But Gow states that the only reference to this law, mentioned in Justinian's

ing to trace its doubtful pedigree through the nebulæ of remote ages, to rest content with indicating the first traces of the practice in the modern application of the term.

It is generally conceded that insurance as a factor in European commerce owed its origin to the southern traders who, in the middle ages, controlled business enterprise. As early as the eleventh century, Venice and Amalfi led European traffic with the East.[13] Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, sent by the Emperor Otto as ambassador to the court of Nicephoras Phocas, for instance, states that oriental cloths were imported in such quantities by their traders that Lombard gentlemen were as finely arrayed as the Greeks themselves. And we may note, by the way, that local pride in those days soared so far above love of gain that the statement drove the indignant Greeks to legislate against the export of their fabrics. From the eleventh century, the Lombard cities had virtually become republican.[14]

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"Digest," Book XIV, Tit. 21, in no way refers to insurance; and he regards it as certain that no evidence exists to show that insurance prevailed in any community prior to the eleventh century; neither the Consolato del Mare, eleventh and twelfth centuries, which governed maritime relations with regard to freight and the duties of masters and mariners; nor the laws of Oleron, which deal with French ships—the earliest MS. dates from 1266, but they are said to go back to Richard I (1194). The laws of Wisby, thirteenth century. The Hanseatic laws, published at Lübeck, 1593–1597, revised and enlarged in 1614.

[13] See Muratori, X, 101, who speaks of the noted wealth of Amalfi in 1120.

[14] Hallam, *loc. cit.*, says that the movement spread to Tuscany in the thirteenth century. But Villari, following Villani, shows popular uprisings in the eleventh century in which the people asserted themselves (1063–68). A letter of S. Pier Damianus addressed "civibus florentinis," as well as a document of the Codex "laurenziano" in which "clerus et populus florentinus" address the Pope and speak of a "Municipale praesidium," of a "Praeses" in the city, and of a Potesta, also confirm a belief in an earlier date for the movement in Tuscany. At the death of the Countess Matilda (1115), the independence of Florence was avowed. The great men of the city, who had governed in her name, assumed power in the name of the people, as consuls of the Commune elected by the people (Villari, I, 77). Muratori (IX, 662) states that Milan, Lodi, Pavia, *i.e.*, the Lombard cities, had reached independence and a semi-republican form of government as early as 1093. This was favored by the war of investitures, when the northern municipalities, while recognizing the sovereignty of the king of Italy, asserted practical independent self-government. The movement gradually spread to other Italian cities.

Soon the movement spread to Tuscany, and the cities of Northern Italy gradually put forth "those vigorous shoots of freedom," protected industries and commerce, respect for law, competition and emulation, which, for a time, and until internecine disturbances undermined their prosperity, caused their merchants to play a leading role in the history of European civilization.[15] The crusades added to their wealth. Most of the western armaments were carried on the vessels of Pisa, Venice and Genoa; and these returned laden with precious oriental products.[16] In the thirteenth century, and until its navy was destroyed by the Genoese (1284), Pisa was powerful. Its rule extended to Sardinia, Corsica and Elba; and much of the traffic of the Mediterranean was under its control.[17] We are told of a "Moorish" quarter in Pisa which was devastated by fire in 1099, where the "Moorish" merchants lived who came to trade.[18]

It must be understood, however, that in the loose nomenclature of the Middle Ages, the term "Moorish merchants" might mean any or all of the Mediterranean peoples engaged in maritime commerce, and between whom little or no discrimination was made. Donizo,[19] who wrote in the thirteenth century, says that the streets of Pisa were thronged with Jews, Arabians and "other monsters of the sea." Even in official documents of a much later date, the same geographical and ethnographical vagueness prevails with regard to the inhabitants of the Mediterranean area. An act of Richard III "touching the merchants of Italy," enumerates the "Lombards, Genoese, Apulians, etc. . . . the *Catalonians, and others of the same nation.*"[20] Serious writers

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[15] Guicciardini states that the Flemings, at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, taught the rest of Europe the arts and refinements which they had learnt from Italy. (Compare Hume II, 344.)

[16] See for instance Muratori, *loc. cit.*, X, 121, who tells of the Venetian fleet sacking the towns of Tyre and Ascalon, and taking Rhodes with its riches, etc.

[17] Sardinia was lost by Pisa to Spain in 1325. (Villani, *loc. cit.*, V, 313.)

[18] Muratori, *loc. cit.*, IX, 697.

[19] Vita Comitissæ Mathildas, quoted by Hallam, *loc. cit.*, I, 441.

[20] This act (Richard III, I, c. 9), which seeks to impede foreign trade and imports, makes an exception in favor of books. These are allowed free ingress. They were then a new commodity. From the terms of the act, it would seem that at this time, a great number of foreigners had settled permanently in England, who made it a practice to store their goods in warehouses and cellars to await a period of scarcity, when a higher price might

have not always made suffieient allowanee for such ethnographic looseness in their discussion of these questions.

The confusion which eventually arose in the minds of other nations with regard to the Lombard and the Jewish merchants, as well as the popular hatred and persecution whieh the former eventually came to share with the latter, was therefore based upon very real and elose eontaet in business enterprise, and upon a similarity of methods. Indeed, it is stated that when, by ediet of Edward I (1290) the Jews, stripped of all save their passage allowance, were expelled from England at a two months' notiee, under penalty of death, many of them took advantage of the privileges conceded to the Lombards by assuming the eharacter of the latter, who under license were allowed to remain in England. The Jews gradually returned; but they only ventured to live there openly after the Restoration.[21]

The injustiee and brutality with which these finaneiers were treated in mediæval Europe, not only by the populaee, but by governments, were not simply the expressions of religious intoleranee. This undoubtedly was frequently stirred into an aggressive hatred in the hearts of ignorant mobs, and led to many of the atrocities which punetuate the history of financial enterprise. Sueh massacres as were perpetrated in Germany, for instanee, in 1096 and in 1146, on the passage of the Crusaders; or in France by the "Pastoureaux," in 1320, were probably inspired by pure popular fanaticism, fanned to a white heat by the European eontest in the Orient. But as a rule, fiscal and other peeuniary interests had at least as great a share as religious prejudice in these perseeutions. The causes that brought about the latter were eomplex and often ignoble. In the twelfth eentury, the impiety of usury was held in such abhorrence that the profits aeeruing therefrom were regarded as tainted. It was forbidden by the ehureh eanons to aeeept any portion thereof as alms. Usurers eould not be reeeived to penanee unless full restitution

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be obtained. In fact, they made what we to-day would call "a corner" in their commodities. From bringing their cargoes to England's ports under obligation to dispose of them within thirty days of their arrival, they had established themselves on English Soil. The second stage of British commercial history had been reached. The British themselves had learned from these intruders, and were about to enter into rivalry with them and to secure unto themselves the rich benefits of a widespread foreign trade.

[21] Craik, I, 149. Henri Martin, "Histoire de France," III, p. 518.

was made of their ill-gotten gains; and the curse fell upon their heirs so long as they continued to profit by their iniquity. In the thirteenth century, the archbishop of Genoa forbade the burial of an usurer under the ruling of the Third Council of Lateran, which excommunicated usurers and deprived them of Christian burial. These canonical restrictions upon the profitable use of capital, which was branded as usury and heresy, punishable by excommunication in this world and eternal damnation in the next, and the consequent obloquy cast upon financial operations threw all such undertakings into the hands of the Jews and the Lombards. For "il est avec le ciel des accommodements," and the rich Italian capitalists of Florence and of other Italian cities, who from early times seem to have risen above the ban under which their methods were placed by the church, while priests and councils fulminated against usury contrived to secure immunity. Verily it is stated on good authority,[22] that the bishops of Tuscany themselves invested the funds of their churches in the God-forbidden way.

It is a curious fact that in England, while interest on loans taken by Christians was accounted usury and illegal, the Jews lay under no legal restrictions in the matter. They seem to have been regarded, so to speak, as belonging to the crown, who arbitrarily taxed them and thus shared with them the enormous profit made by them upon the financial stress of its subjects. William of Newburgh frankly speaks of them as "royal usurers." No doubt this may account for the quasi monopoly in money-lending which they enjoyed. Like the bee, they were allowed to gather in the honey; but also like this industrious insect, they frequently were relieved of their hoard. It is not until the reign of King Henry VIII that interest on money loans was recognized as legitimate and was fixed by statute at ten per cent. But, while officially sanctioning a rate, the act (1546) is entitled "An Act against Usury" and reads, "And foreasmuch as all usury being forbidden by the law of God is sin and detestable, be it enacted that all usury above the rate of ten per cent shall be punished by the forfeiture of the whole sum so exacted." (13th of Elizabeth, c. 8.)[23]

The Jew, according to the expediency of the moment, was

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[22] Henry C. Lea, "The Ecclesiastical Treatment of Usury." *Yale Review*, 1894, p. 362, quoting Alvar de planctu. Ecclesiae. Lib. II, art. VII.

[23] Craik, I, 232.

alternately driven out and recalled, protected and despoiled. He was hated by the people, yet needed by the crown. He was the type of the mediæval business man. He was shrewd, thrifty, frugal and he saved money for profitable use through methods which have prevailed. The Christian kings and their Barons, even when not driven to extremities by the necessities of constant warfare, were lavish and magnificent, and they spent theirs. Then they borrowed from the financier, who, by the practice which they scorned, a practice which in their eyes stood condemned as base and sinful by God, the church and the Christian conscience gradually obtained control of their possessions. The financier had the best of it until the pressure of serious need made itself felt in the community in which he lived. He took full advantage of the situation, like the good business man that he was.[24] Then came the storm. His victims could not cope with him on his own ground then, as they have so successfully learned to do since; but they had brute force on their side. So they turned upon the business man who had despoiled them. They seized upon what he would not give up, and they drove him out, and with him, hosts of innocent people who were made to suffer vicariously for the rapacity of their fellow countrymen. The procedure was often singularly brutal. Hume tells of a merchant of Bristol who was asked by King John for 10,000 marks. Upon refusal he was seized and had a tooth extracted daily until he complied. He lost seven before he yielded.[25]

But if the Jew suffered most, he did not suffer alone. Other financiers fared little better. In 1303 the Exchequer having been looted, the king's wrath fell upon the Italian merchants, especially upon the wealthy Florentine house of the Frescobaldi;[26] although it does not appear that the real criminals were ever traced. On the other hand, the successful aliens who had hitherto monopolized European trade excited the jealousy of the native traders, when, toward the latter part of the Middle Ages, they began to learn the value of extended traffic. A story is told by Walsingham of a Genoese merchant—a promoter—who came to London in 1359, to submit to King Richard II a scheme to turn Southamp-

[24] Matthew Paris, p. 370, mentions an edict of Philippe de Valois which limits the Jews to forty-eight per cent interest. He also, p. 566, speaks of fifty per cent as a rate that might be exacted for money loans.

[25] Hume, II, p. 66.

[26] Hume, II, p. 142.

ton into an emporium of the eastern trade, the center of which was then in Flanders. He was murdered in a street of London by assassins hired by English merchants who feared that the project might interfere with their personal interests. Nor was the situation of the early financier more secure in other parts of Europe. King Philip III of France, under a decree against money lenders, caused Italian merchants and Jews all over France to be despoiled and driven out of the kingdom,[27] thus causing them much damage. Many, however, upon payment of large sums were allowed to remain. His successor, King Charles, when in 1324 he started war against England in Gascony, seized the Lombard merchants and bankers as usurers, and grievously exacted heavy ransom. In the quaint words of Villani, "He finished them through the money he extorted from them."[28] The same thing occurred again under King Philip de Valois, who, according to the same authority, on April 10, 1337, caused all the Italian merchants to be seized and heavily ransomed.[29]

The above is but a faint and broken outline of the difficulties encountered by financial enterprise in the early stages of its development in Western Europe. Despised by the nobles, practically outlawed, it was preyed upon by all; and it received government protection only sporadically, and in so far as those engaged in its pursuit might prove useful to the crown as milch cows. Not infrequently, in their ignorant greed, were governments impelled to destroy the wretched financiers upon whose substance they had preyed. However this may be, despite all obstacles and in order to meet some of the emergencies then confronting them, the Lombard merchants in the twelfth century had established the foundations of modern business methods by intro-

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[27] Villani, III, p. 99. The same thing occurred in the reign of Philip IV (1291).

[28] *Loc. cit.*, V, p. 24.

[29] In January, 1345, the firm of dei Bardi failed through loans made to King Edward III and to the King of Sicily. The loan to King Edward, principal and interest, was 900,000 gold florins, which, owing to the war with France, he could not pay. The dei Bardi were then the largest firm in Florence. The house of Peruzzi also failed through the same cause, having loaned 600,000 florins to Edward III and 100,000 to the King of Sicily. The failure of these important houses caused that of others whose funds were in their hands.

ducing the system of remitting funds through bills of exchange.[30] As these bills required that shipments by means of which values were put into the hands of the acceptor, should be protected on their often perilous transfer, insurance soon became as important an element in their transactions as the credit system thus inaugurated by them. Under King John, who granted considerable protection to foreign traders, appears the earliest preserved mention of "letters of credit," the first form of "bills of exchange," in a document in which the king, under date of August 25, 1199, at Rouen, engaged to pay 2,125 marks to a company of Lombard merchants of Placentia, advanced by them to the Bishop of Anjou and Bangor on the faith of King Richard. Afterward John repeatedly raised funds by such letters advanced to his agents, to the amount named, at such time as should be agreed upon, to any person presenting his letter, together with the acknowledgment of his agents for the sum received by them. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the form and the usage governing non-payment had already become fixed.[31]

These increased facilities, evolved by the Lombard merchants in the carrying on of foreign trade, as well as their practice of making loans upon interest, gradually brought international commerce into their hands. The Lombard bankers or usurers, as they

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[30] It would appear that letters of credit were known to the ancient Greeks and Romans.

[31] Two bills of exchange dated 1404—the oldest preserved—are given by Capmany in his history of Barcelona. Villani, "His. of Florence," VI, p. 50, tells us that in 1327 during the siege of Pisa by Louis of Bavaria, recently crowned at Milan king of the Romans, the duke of Calabria sent to the besieged money to pay their troops in a draught on Florence firms who had houses in the town. In the twelfth century, the Venetians were the bankers of the world and they used a kind of bond essentially analogous to our civil loans. They were direct interest-bearing obligations of the state, redeemable and negotiable. Venice's system of certified loans gradually spread over France and the Low Countries and from the fifteenth century onward instruments somewhat analogous to our corporation and real estate bonds appeared in other parts of western continental Europe. We should state, however, that it was reserved for the new world to develop to the full the latent capabilities of the sealed instrument. The modern negotiable bond was born of the peculiar necessities of early American finance, and it was nurtured by the Federal courts. The importance of this appears in the jurisprudence of the last half century, as municipal bond law to cover the exigencies arising from this new mode of financing. (See Lawrence Chamberlain, "The Principles of Bond Investment," p. 2, 1912.)

were called,—for the prototype of the bank must be looked for in the loan office and at a time when money was not recognized by law as a commodity upon which a profit might legitimately be earned, no distinction was drawn by European gentlemen between banking and pawnbroking, money-lending and usury—found their way to every business center of Europe. They had made their appearance in France in the twelfth century, under Philip-Augustus. There they had established loan-offices which became commonly known as "Lombards", "milans" or "monts de milans". These did a thriving business until the seventeenth century, when, under Louis XIV, the government established "monts-de-piété." The three golden balls adopted by the Lombard money-lenders as their trade sign—which became a part of the armorial bearings of the dei Medici—have survived down to our own time. They still cling to the modern pawnbroker's office, along with much of the ancient prejudice which the present banker and note-broker have so successfully lived down. Owing to an early loan-office or banking house opened by them at Cahors in southern France, the Lombard merchants became known as "Cahorsins." And the name of the Paris thoroughfare "Rue des Lombards" still perpetuates their memory in a part of the locality (quartier des Lombards) where they made their head-quarters in the French capital, and where Boccacio was born in 1313.[32]

Favored by the Popes, in their struggles against the common enemy, the emperors of Germany, the Italian merchants were entrusted by the sovereign pontiffs with the care of collecting imposts payable in England to the Holy See. According to Hallam,[33] the "usurers of Cahors and Lombardy residing in England" in the twelfth century partly by levies of money and partly by revenues and benefices, relieved the kingdom in a few years of no less than £15,000,000 sterling. Italian bankers often farmed

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[32] The Hotel de Lussan, No. 38 Rue Croix des Petits-Champs, was once known as the house "du Lombard," owing to the fact that a "mont de milan" was held there. (See Feuve, "Hre. de Paris," IV, p. 404.) At that time the street was known as Rue de la Buffetterie (buffet being then synonymous with "bureau," *i.e.*, "office"). Later, it was called Rue de la Pourpointerie, after the guild of tailors and cloth dealers established there in the seventeenth century. On the plan of Paris of 1642, however, it appears as Rue des Lombards.

[33] "Hist. of the Middle Ages," II, p. 217.

the customs of England as securities for loans. At that time very little money was in circulation and transactions were mainly conducted by means of barter.[34] The papal taxes were shipped to Italy largely in the shape of wool derived from some of the two hundred or more monasteries of England and Scotland.

While traces of traders from Lucca are stated to be found as early as the ninth century, by the thirteenth the Lombard merchants were in full force in England; and "Lombard Street in London" became, and remains to this day, synonymous with the highest business authority.

In the earliest English policies of insurance preserved,[35] the

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[34] According to "Annales Flandrici," fol. 18, Hed. 1561. Hallam, III, 319, also quotes Meyer, a historian, who wrote in 1600. Banks had been established in various countries. The Bank of Venice traces back its origin to the "Camera degl' Imprestiti," or Chamber of loans, an office established in 1171 for the payment of the annual interest on the debts of the Republic; in a sense, therefore, it might be considered the oldest banking house of which we have any record. The "Taula di Cambi," or "Table of Exchange," opened at Barcelona by the magistrates of that city in 1401 is, however, regarded as the earliest European institution strictly answering to the modern notion of a bank, *i.e.*, a bank of deposit. The bank of Genoa, originated in the Chamber of St. George, established in 1407, which at first was, like the Venetian Chamber of Loans, a mere government office, for the administration of the debts of the Republic.

[35] The word policy, or "polizza," is of Italian derivation and means a note or memorandum in writing, or bill of security, creating evidence of a legal obligation. (I Duer on "Insurance," *loc. cit.*, 29); Angell, "On Fire and Life Ins.," 2d edition, 3, sec. 4; Marshall "Insurance," 5th ed., 228.) The Ordonnances of Wisby (Emerigon, *loc. cit.*, XXXVIII) are said by the same author (*loc. cit.*, 160, n. 6) and others, to mention the contract of marine insurance and they are followed by many writers. But Marshall (*loc. cit.*) criticizes Cleirac's version of the Laws of Wisby, which mentions insurance and says that Malynes' translation does not mention it. He further asserts that the first ordinance on the subject is found in the Institutes of Barcelona, published about 1435, differing in this respect from Emerigon (*loc. cit.*) and his followers, who place the date at 1484.

It is said that a "Chamber of Assurance" existed at Bruges as early as 1310. (Richards on "Insurance," ed. 1892, 6, sec. 5; and Griswold "Fire Underwriters," ed. 1872, 10.) Hopkins (*loc. cit.*, 19) cites Bedarrides, commentator on "French Code de Commerce," as asserting that the insurance system takes no place until the fourteenth century. An early document (1411) refers to insurance as an established practice and recites that it is a dangerous custom of the Venetians to insure foreign vessels and prohibits such insurances. (Hopkins, "Marine Insurance," 20.) The same writer states that it is idle to try to trace the beginning of the practice in England; and Anderson ("History of Commerce," pp. 109, 203) and Malynes (ex "Mer-

constantly recurring phrase, "The surest writing or policy of insurance heretofore made in Lombard Street," leaves little doubt as to the origin of this all-important adjunct to foreign trade, and Malynes, an English writer of the seventeenth century, quoted by Gow in his work on "Marine Insurance," says that in his day (1622) the Antwerp policy also contained a clause referring to "Lombard Street London." This clause, of course, was an addition to the ancient Florentine form of 1523. Later the words, "On the Royall Exchange," were added; and in my American policy of 1757, these are replaced by "or elsewhere in London." The latter city and Bruges were the principal Lombard markets. The towns of the Hanseatic League then distributed the cargoes to Western Europe and to the northern markets, and with them the improved principles of modern trade.

Pardessus, in the first volume of his "Collection des lois Maritimes," cites a Flemish writer to prove that the Comte de Flandres, at the request of the merchants of Bruges, established a tribunal for the trial of insurance cases in that city in 1310; and Pegolotti, who wrote in 1330 and to whom both Alanzet and Lemonnier refer, states that the usage was well established in Florence at the same period and that brokers were usually employed to effect policies. Lemonnier adds that in the next volume of his collection (the VIth) Pardessus intends to publish an ordinance on insurance dated 1318 recently discovered at Cagliari, and in which he says is the first evidence of legislation on the subject.

In this connection it is worthy of remark that the oldest statute hitherto known which directly relates to insurance, the ordinance passed by the Counsellors of Barcelona (November 21, 1433), deals with insurance as a then already well-known and common practice.[36] I am indebted, however, to the distinguished

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eatoria," p. 105) both claim priority for England as regards the practice of insurance; while Marshall (*loc. cit.*, p. 7) believes that it came into practice there before the middle of the fifteenth century, the evidence points to the Lombards and other Italians who settled in England in the thirteenth century. (Angell, *loc. cit.*, 2d ed., 4, sec. 4; Malynes, *loc. cit.*, 146; 1 Smith, *loc. cit.*, lxv, lxviii; 1 Duer, *loc. cit.*, 33; Griswold, *loc. cit.*, 13; Park, *loc. cit.*, xliii; Marshall, *loc. cit.*, 6, 7.)

[36] It decreed that no vessel shall be insured for more than three-fourths of its ascertained value; that no merchandise belonging to foreigners shall be insured in Barcelona, unless freighted on board a vessel belonging to a subject of the King of Aragon. That goods belonging to subjects of the

historian of the Inquisition, the late Henry Charles Lea, for calling my attention to a passage in which official mention of insurance is made antedating both the above documents, and going back to the thirteenth century.[37] This refers to a Decretal of Pope Gregory XI (c. 1236), which declared it to be usurious, in making a loan to a merchant about to sail, for the lender to charge for insuring the goods at the current rate of premium.[38] "Naviganti vel eunti ad nundinas certam mutuaus pecunia quantitatum, eo quod suscepit in se periculum receptuvus aliquid ultra sortum usurarius est consendus."

In sending me the passage, Mr. Lea added that "this regia was relaxed in the course of a century, for the Summa proceeds: 'sed tamen forte possit recipive premium periculi quia si etiam nihil mutuaret ei et ipse vellet in se recipire periculum navigantis ut scilicet si perdat merces nel pecuniam pro promissore restaurabit ei, certi ipse promissar licite ob hoc posset premium recipire, et eodum modo si mutual, dummodo nihil plus exigat in fraudym usura.' All of which shows that insurance for transportation by land or sea was thoroughly recognized."[39]

It is obvious that at this time insurance already performed an important and well-established function in the commercial life of Europe.

I am indebted to Mr. Wistar Brown for calling my attention to Walford's "Insurance Guide,"[40] in which is mentioned the fact that in 1512 a Venetian merchant effected insurance in England

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king, freighted in foreign vessels, should be insured only to the extent of half the real value; and that nothing save corn and wine should be insured for more than three-fourths thereof. The words "more or less," sometimes inserted in policies, were declared illegal. It further decrees that a vessel unheard of for six months shall be considered lost. That an insurance broker's commission shall not exceed two shillings on £100, to be paid by the party insured; and that no broker nearly related to, or connected by marriage with either of the contracting parties shall be employed to negotiate insurance. (Orden. ap. Capmany, "Mem. Hist. of Barcelona," V, II, 383.) See Macpherson, "Annals of Commerce," I, 648, London, 1805.

[37] "The Summa Pisanella Usura," I, section xxiv (1338). The author, Bartomeus Pisanus a S. Concordia.

[38] Cap. xix Extra, Lib. V. Tit. xix.

[39] Private letter to the writer under date February 29, 1904. Compare Henry C. Lea, "Ecclesiastical Treatment of Usury," in *Yale Review*, February, 1894.

[40] Walford, "Insurance Guide," ed. 1867, 5; Compare Richards on "Insurance," ed. 1892, sec. 4.

on property from Candia, Crete. In 1548 and 1558 insurance is alluded to in England.

A mention of insurance in England is found in Ludovico Guicciardini's "Description of the Netherlands," 1560–61,[41] where the author states that at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth merchants on both sides were so sensible of the value of their vast mutual commerce "that they have fallen into a way of insuring their merchandise from losses at sea, by a joint contribution." The statute of 43 Elizabeth, c. 12, also implies that the practice of insurance was already of long standing in England in 1601, for the following words occur in the preamble: "Whereas it has been time out of mind the usage among merchants both of this kingdom and of foreign nations, when they make a great adventure (especially in remote parts) to give some consideration of money to persons who commonly are no small number, to have from them assurance made of their goods, merchandize, ships and things adventured, or some part therof, at such rates and in such sort as the parties assurers and the parties assured can agree, which course of dealing is commonly termed a policy of assurance by means of which it cometh to pass, upon the loss or perishing of any ship there followeth not the undoing of any man, but the loss lighteth rather easily upon many than heavily upon a few—and rather upon them that adventure not than upon those that adventure—whereof Merchants, specially of the younger sort are allured to venture more willingly and more freely, and whereas, heretofore, such assurers have used to stand so justly and precisely upon their credits that few or no controversies have risen thereupon; and if any have grown the same have from time to time been ended and ordered by certain grave and discreet merchants appointed by the Mayor of London, until of late years that divers persons have withdrawn themselves from the arbitrary course and have sought to draw the parties assured to seek their moneys of every several assurer by suits commenced in Her Majesty's Courts, to their great charges and delays." The statute provides for the appointment of a standing commission for the determining of causes on policies of assurances, such as were entered within the office of assurances within the city of

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[41] See I Parsons, "Marine Insurance," ed. 1868. (O. 2. Anderson, "History on Commerce," p. 108-9; Hopkins, *loc. cit.*, 29; Marshall, *loc. cit.*, 5th ed., 7.

London: "This Commission to consist of the Judge of the Admiralty, the Recorder of London, two Doctors of the Civil Law, two common lawyers and eight discreet merchants or any five of them, which Commission shall have authority to determine all causes concerning policies of assurances in a summary way." No commissioner could be either assured or insured. It is evident from the above that long before the law took official cognizance of insurance in England the practice was governed by special contracts and agreements. Indeed, we know that from these a body of rules had been adopted by common consent by the merchants who met at Edward Lloyd's Coffee House in Tower Street, London. This had become the chief place of resort of ship-owners and merchants. All commercial intelligence was discussed there, and its proprietor eventually established a shipping and commercial paper known as *Lloyd's News*. In time the habitues of the Coffee House formed themselves into a mutual assurance association. They adopted fixed rules and a definite form of policy for their exclusive use. Lloyd's policy—with slight alterations—is still in use among private underwriters; although various companies have more or less modified its wording to suit their own purposes. Three hundred years of court decisions and rulings bearing upon its phraseology have given stability to the transactions based upon it.[42]

In 1692 Lloyd's Coffee House removed to Lombard Street. In 1770 the Coffee House ceased to exist and the office was transferred to the first floor of the northeastern section of the Royal Exchange, formerly occupied by the East India Company.

The state of war which prevailed in Europe from 1775 to 1815, by jeopardizing merchant shipping, increased the importance and prestige of Lloyd's. As the largest and most trustworthy office then in existence, it practically transacted the business of the world. From the reign of Elizabeth to the year 1756, it is stated on good authority[43] that only sixty cases based upon breach of contract relating to insurance are recorded in the court reports. The commission established by Queen Elizabeth had hardly justified its existence; and by 1720—when the exclusive right to

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[42] See H. N. Roberts, "The Purposes, Origin, and Elements of Marine Insurance," read at the Gen. Meet. of the Inst., held in Toronto, January 31, 1900. Also Martin, "Hist. of Lloyd's," p. 120, and Gow, *loc. cit.*, p. 188.

[43] Park, Introduction to "Marine Insurance" Comp. Gow, *loc. cit.*, p. 7.

carry on marine insurance was given to a joint stock company[44]—it had fallen into disuse. Arbitration, under the practice of continental countries and accepted as authoritative, took its place, until William Murray Mansfield, Chief Justice of the king's bench (1756–1788), drafted the foundation of insurance law from the old sea laws and foreign ordinances which from 1433 had been enacted, as well as from trade usages and court verdicts.[45]

In the face of the above facts, it is difficult to believe that Shakespeare, who as Sir Henry Irving remarked when the problem was placed before him by the writer, "knew everything," was ignorant of the commercial processes in force among the business fraternity of his day. Indeed, it might be tempting to ascribe a cause other than the great dramatist's unfamiliarity with contemporary methods, for the needless strain imposed upon the sympathies of the London public by worthy Antonio's sorry plight; and the explanation that at first forces itself upon the mind is that the tale from which the brilliant plagiarist borrowed the plot of his masterpiece belonged to a preceding age. But it is a noteworthy fact that, whether the original of the "Merchant of Venice" is sought in the "Gesta Romanorum," which was compiled at the end of the thirteenth century, or in "Il Pecorono" of Sir Giovanni Florentino (1378), a new edition of which appeared in Venice in 1565, or in the "Cursor Mundi" (end of the thirteenth century), we find all the details of the odious compact, but not the series of shipwrecks, which in Shakespeare's version are the pivotal point upon which rests the story of the noble Venetian's financial downfall on the Rialto.

In "Il Pecorono" as well as in the story preserved in the "Gesta Romanorum," the hero's undoing is due to the wiles of a new Circe, whose wit, however, like Portia's, eventually extricates

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[44] "The London Assurance Company" and "The Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation" were merged as a joint stock company under a charter giving it exclusive right to marine insurance. In 1724 by act of Parliament the restrictions were removed and numerous companies were formed.

[45] In 1681 the "Ordonnance de la Marine" was drawn up in France under the auspices of Colbert, by some unknown genius. This code became the model of the English law of marine insurance. It contains lengthy regulations concerning insurance, as does also the Guidon de la Mer between 1556–1584. (Griswold, *loc. cit.*, 9; Marshal, *loc. cit.*, 15; Emerigon, *loc. cit.*, 57, n. 6.) It remained authoritative, and was in the main incorporated in the "Code Napoleon" (1807). The latter in turn became the basis of the modern codes of commercial law.

his adopted father from the toils. The version of the story given in the "Cursor Mundi" deals with the goldsmith of Helen, the mother of Constantine. His inability to pay is ascribed to no special cause.[46] The far and wide commercial ventures of the merchant are obviously an addition to the original story, suggested by the spirit of adventure that prevailed in the sixteenth century. It is therefore clear that, although the "Merchant of Venice" was treated by Shakespeare as a contemporary episode, he made no attempt to present an accurate picture of the business customs of the time. Sir Henry Irving, when the point was submitted to him, attributed the fact to Shakespeare's "sublime disregard of facts." He inclined to look upon it as a further proof—if any were needed—of Shakepeare's authorship. Bacon, he said, cared for facts and never would have overlooked such a circumstance. However this may be, it is not without significance as an example of the evolution through which an ancient theme may pass under varying conditions, that in Gregorio Leti's "History of Pope Sixtus V," written in the seventeenth century and mentioned in Bishop Percy's "Reliques,"[47] we find the unholy contract immortalized by the great English dramatist, represented as cementing a wager between a Roman merchant named Paul Secchi and one Sampson Ceneda, a Jew insurer, as to the truth of a report received by Secchi to the effect that Sir Francis Drake had pillaged Santo Domingo in Hispaniola. The Jew insurer, whose pecuniary interest is involved in the news, stakes one pound of his flesh and loses. The roles are here reversed. The Jew is the victim. But we have the additional detail of an insurer. By this time insurance had become a commonplace in everyday life.

The oldest form of an insurance policy preserved to us is that prescribed in an ordinance of Florence of 1523.[48] One of the earliest policies of insurance preserved in England, however, is dated February 16, 1613, a copy of which, made for legal purposes and known as the Tanner MS. No. 74, fr. 32, is in the Bodleian

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[46] "Bot pouer he was and hard in dett . . . "
" . . . the day is past, the dette unquit."

[47] I am indebted to the learned editor of the Variorum edition of Shakespeare, the late Dr. Horace Howard Furness, for much valued assistance in working out this part of the subject.

[48] It is published in Lowndes' "Law of Marine Insurance," pp. 233, 234.

Library at Oxford.[49] Curiously enough, it refers to insurance upon "wollen and Lynnen Cloth, Leade, Kersies, Iron and other goods and merchandize, heretofore laden aboard the goode shipp called the 'Tiger' of London, of the burden of 200 tonnes or thereabouts, where is Master under God in his present voyadge Thomas Crowder &c." The vessel was then bound from London to "Zante, Petrasse and Saphalonia." The "shipp Tiger" is alluded to by Shakespeare in "Twelfth Night"[50] and in "Macbeth,"[51] where its destination is given: "Her husband's gone to Aleppo master o' the Tiger." Dr. Furness, in his monumental Variorum edition of "Twelfth Night," quotes Sir Kenelm Digby's Journal of 1628[52] as mentioning "The Tiger of London going for Scanderone" (*i. e.*, Alexandretta). Also Hakluyt's "Voyages,"[53] where is described a voyage to Tripoli and Aleppo undertaken by Ralph Fitch and others in the "Tiger of London" in 1583. And he alludes to a ship "Tiger, apparently a Spanish vessel," which occurs in the "Calender of Domestic State Papers," 1547–1580.[54] In this connection, the eminent Shakespearian scholar inclined to regard "The Tiger" as a ship's common name, so familiar to Shakespeare's audience that he used it merely in a general way. The existence of the Oxford policy of insurance on the ship "Tiger of London," which actually plied its trade in 1613, however, taken in connection with the above facts, would seem to indicate that the vessel itself was a well-known merchantman of the time, which then regularly carried on the Mediterranean trade, and we may infer that its name was used by Shakespeare as what to-day would be termed a "local hit."

By this time the British spirit of adventure had been fully aroused. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century English ships extended their navigation to the Baltic and in the early part of the fifteenth century they sailed to the Mediterranean. A crude effort to develop English shipping had led, among other enactments, to a prohibition to export or import goods in other

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[49] The text of the policy is given in full by Gow in "Marine Insurance," Append. B. See also Martin, "History of Lloyd's," pp. 46–48.

[50] Act V, 1, 65.

[51] Act 1, 3, 7.

[52] Sir Kenelm Digby's Journal, 1628, p. 45. Camden Soc.

[53] Hakluyt's "Voyages," pp. 247, s. 258. These are also quoted by Gow, 1 pc. cit. Appendix B, p. 317.

[54] Vol. XXXIII, 53, April 13, 1564.

than English ships, under penalty of forfeiture of vessel and cargo.[55] Such legislation, however, was not likely to stand the test of time. A more liberal policy soon prevailed; and in 1409 King Henry granted permission to Venetian merchants to bring their ships and cargoes into English ports. In 1490 a commercial treaty was entered into with Florence, and it is probable that the beginning of the Mediterranean trade, as carried on in British ships, had sprung into existence in the interval. A "Governor," or what now would probably be described as a consul, had been appointed by King Richard III (1485) on the petition of British merchants residing at Pisa. This official, a Florentine merchant who might become a resident of Pisa, while governing them and settling their disputes with foreigners, was to look after their interests; and his British constituents were to be formed into a corporate body, who, although living under their own regulations, were to enjoy the privileges of citizens of Florence and Pisa. In recognition of these advantages they were to control the monopoly of the wool trade of England, with the exception of 600 sacks yearly, which were reserved to the Venetians, probably by a previous contract. From the beginning of the sixteenth century English enterprise gradually asserted itself. Hakluyt mentions Captain Hawkins, of Plymouth, as making a trading voyage to Guinea in quest of ivory about 1530; and two years later, to Brazil. From 1511 to 1534, ships from London, Southampton and Bristol carried on a large trade with Sicily, Candia, Chio and as far as "Cyprus, Tripoli and Barutti (Beyrut) in Syria." These ships returned with Turkey carpets, raisins, silks, wines, galls, cotton, wool, spices, etc. Such voyages around the Mediterranean occupied one year, and, as we have seen, were accounted exceedingly difficult and dangerous. The nascent British trade, moreover, was not carried on entirely in British ships. These, as yet, were few; and in order to supply the deficiencies of their own shipping, the British merchants engaged foreign vessels from Candia, Ragusa, Sicily, Genoa, Venice, Spain and Portugal. But they had learned from the Lombards successful trading methods, and gradually absorbed the traffic which the merchant princes of Italy, distracted by other ambitions, were allowing to slip from their grasp. As late as 1512, however, most of the skilled artisans and traders in luxuries in England still appear to have been

[55] Macpherson, "Annals of British Commerce," I, pp. 623, s. 619.

foreigners. In May, 1517, a serious riot broke out in London against these aliens who were accused—if we may use a modern colloquial expression—of "cornering the market." In the quaint language of the day, the grievance against them appears to have been their "forestalling the market" so "that Englishmen want and starve whilst foreigners live in abundance and pleasure." The Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, which gradually grew to formidable importance, had been organized as early as 1296. It was incorporated by royal charter, however, only in 1505, and soon after set up a claim to the monopoly of foreign trade. It even assumed the privilege of granting a license to private "adventurers." These pretensions, and the struggles to which in time they led with other companies, notably the ancient Steelyard Company (Easterlings), however, do not properly belong to the subject.

In the American Colonies, prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, merchants, when insuring their cargoes, dealt with British underwriters. In 1721, however, a broker's office for effecting insurance was advertised in the Philadelphia *Gazette*.[56] It was probably unsuccessful, as were other early attempts. At least, in 1725 Americans still required to be educated as to the value of insurance. A book written by Mr. Francis Rawle,[57] printed by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, was then published by S. Keenier on "The ways and means for the Inhabitants of Delaware to become Rich," in which an allusion is made to the many abortive attempts made in Philadelphia to open insurance offices. Indeed, it would seem that the Quaker colonists did not readily fall in with the current of commercial progress in this respect; nor did they always seek protection against what they devoutly regarded as the decrees of Providence, without serious qualms of conscience.

Mr. Thomas A. Montgomery[58] has drawn attention to an interesting business correspondence (1701) between William Penn

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[56] Horace Binney, "Address on the occasion of the Centennial Meeting of the Philadelphia Contributionship," April, 1852.

[57] In this Mr. Rawle sets forth the benefits of insurance, and urges upon the Legislature the establishment of an insurance office, by means of which the value of the paper credit of the Commonwealth "must be kept up by the promotion of trade, navigation and building of ships, and, in consequence of great advantage to this River," etc.

[58] "History of the Insurance Company of North America."

and James Logan, in which the former's attitude with regard to the matter clearly appears. The struggle between the progressive instinct of these clever merchants and their conscientious scruples is not without a touch of pathos. Mr. Logan writes: "Notwithstanding thy tenderness about insurance, I hope there is some made." And in one of his letters, William Penn says: "I am tender as to Insurance, and did nothing for the 'Hopewell.'" A vindication of this "tenderness" and of his misgivings as to the ungodliness of the practice appears in another passage of the same correspondence, in which William Penn writes: "Askew ensured £100 upon thy letter, but the ensurer broke and the twenty guiness lost . . . Ensurers fail much."

Others, no doubt, shared the views of the founder of Pennsylvania; and notwithstanding the theoretical interest in the matter evidenced in Mr. Rawle's treatise, no American office established during the twenty years that followed upon the opening of Mr. John Compton's, in 1721, seems to have met with more permanent success; for John Saunders' office in Philadelphia, which is the first mentioned in Hon. John Smith's Diary for 1746, seems, at that date, to have been in possession of such business as was then transacted in that city. John Saunders' office was on Reese Meredith's or Carpenter's wharf, until, in 1752, it was removed to Mr. Israel Pemberton's house on Water Street, and became the office of the first fire insurance company established in America. That is: The Philadelphia Contributionship, otherwise known as the "Hand in Hand," founded by the Hon. John Smith, of which John Saunders became first clerk and Dr. Franklin was a director. Mr. Thomas Wharton took Mr. Saunders' former office and entered into competition with the company.[59]

It is possible, as suggested by Mr. Montgomery, that our able, albeit conscientious forefathers, while anxious to keep abreast of their time, sought to soothe their religious scruples by placing their policies under divine protection.[60] At least, the earliest of John Saunders' policies now in existence,—of £400 at four per cent on goods shipped from Philadelphia to London, issued to John Kidd (April 25, 1749) and underwritten by Messrs. John

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[59] In 1794, four companies had been established in the United States. Three of these were in Philadelphia, the fourth was in New York. The Mutual Assurance Company of New York founded in 1787.

[60] Mr. Montgomery, *loc. cit.*

Mifflin, Archibald McCall, Samuel McCall, Jr., and Augustus Hicks—begins with the words: "In the name of God, Amen." The fact is, however, that although the Florentine form of policy of 1523 opens with the preamble: "Sia noto e manifesto," of which our "Be it known," etc., is the equivalent, the formula, "In the name of God, Amen," likewise occurs in early French, English and even in some early Italian policies. If the above interpretation of the quaint preamble is correct, the inference is, therefore, that European merchants originally passed through the same mental processes as did out colonial ancestors with regard to the unrighteousness of securing themselves against disasters that, in their time, were regarded as the expressions of divine wrath. However this may be, only eight years after the writing of the earliest known policy issued upon this continent, this compromise preamble had already been abandoned. This is shown by my policy, the preamble of which reads: "Whereas we," etc.

It was in the same year, 1757, that a number of gentlemen, Thomas Willing, Atwood Shute, Charles and Alexander Stedman, John Kidd and William Coxe, drew up articles of agreement, under the name of Thomas Willing and Co., for the purpose of underwriting policies of insurance. In the following year, Robert Morris took the place of Attwood Shute, who withdrew from the firm. The articles of agreement were drawn from year to year. No funds were put up, the company issuing its policies upon the credit and high standing of its partners. This was deemed ample security, for among the early American underwriters were some of the most respected and honored citizens of the Colonies. Among these are David and William McMurtrie, Reese Meredith, Anthony Stocker, John Wilcocks, Morris and Co., Col. J. Nixon, George Smith, John Hughes, Hodge and Bayard, Theophylac and Richard Bache, Baynton and Wharton, Tench Francis and others.

To-day when everything is insured from the life of a new king—by the tradesmen who hope to reap a harvest at his coronation—or that of a financier, by speculators in his special securities, to the honesty of employees, or the chance of litigation in an automobile damage case—insurance forms so important a part of our daily life that we are apt to forget how much of our prosperity is due to its protective influence. But when official government reports inform us that at the opening of the twentieth century the imports of the United States reached $741,518,883, and

the average annual exports the still more extraordinary figure $1,136,038,959, all of which values must have been more or less insured, the relation existing between such phenomenal business conditions and the quaint makeshift of 1757, when upon occasion a few gentlemen of moderate means privately united for a year in an attempt to protect a sailing vessel and its scanty cargo from the appalling multiplicity of risks that threatened their safety, forces itself upon the mind. It is therefore but fair that we should pause and pay a passing tribute to the enterprise and business ability of the little group of merchants who so modestly laid the foundations of the stupendous commercial achievement of our present American commonwealth

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND)
)S.S.
ENGLAND. CITY OF LONDON. )

I, MARIAN MAGNUS of No. 164 DELAWARE MANSIONS, MAIDA VALE in the COUNTY of LONDON, ENGLAND, SPINSTER, being duly sworn, MAKE OATH and SAY as follows:-

Julia Gideon née Magnus, the Sister of my Father the late Samuel Magnus, who was much older than my said Father, married Mr. Lewis Gideon and went out to the Island of St. Helena about the year one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, St. Helena being then a place of some importance and the residence of Napoleon ~ ~ ~ and the Calling Station of all large vessels going to and fro from India to Australia. During the middle of the last century, the amount sent out to the said Island of St. Helena was astounding, it being also a military station. The Suez Canal changed all this, nearly ruined the Gideons and made a great difference to my said Father. The said Mr. Gideon was there in the time of Napoleon and often saw him. The said Mrs. Gideon helped to make the flag that was placed on Napoleon's bier, from which flag the enclosed pieces were taken. My said Father went to the said Island of

Fig. 62. Certificate from Marian Magnus as to authenticity of the Napoleon Relics.

St. Helena in the year One thousand eight hundred and twenty seven and remained there some years, bringing back with him the flag in question and a piece of Saddle Cloth. The description, which is in my father's own handwriting, is as follows:- "Taken from Napoleon's Saddle Cloth". Major Rovell married Julia Gideon one of the said Mr. Gideon's daughters about the year one thousand eight hundred and forty one. ——

SWORN at No.164, Delaware Mansions Maida Vale in the County of London England, this ninth day of July, One thousand nine hundred and nine, before me:

Marian Magnus.

R. J. Freeman.
NOTARY PUBLIC. LONDON.

Fig. 62A. Certificate from Marian Magnus as to authenticity of the Napoleon Relics.

UNITED KINGDOM of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND)
ENGLAND. CITY of LONDON. } S.S.

To all to whom these Presents shall come

I, Russell Jourdan Freeman, Notary Public, of the City of London by Royal Authority duly admitted and sworn, practising in the said City Do Hereby Certify that on the day of the date hereof before me personally came and appeared

MARIAN MAGNUS,

the Deponent named and described in the Affidavit hereunto annexed who by solemn Oath which the said Deponent then took before me in due form of law did depose testify and declare to be true the several matters and things mentioned and contained in the said annexed Affidavit

In faith and Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal of Office and have caused

R J F ~~mentioned and referred to as and by~~ the said Affidavit to be hereunto also annexed

Dated in London the Ninth day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and nine.

R. J. Freeman.
NOTARY PUBLIC, LONDON.

Fig. 62B. Notarial affidavit.

# FORMS OF JEWISH CEREMONIAL AND WORSHIP, INCLUDING THE "READING OF THE EAW."

By Charles J. Cohen.

*(Read at the Meeting of the Society, November 18, 1912.)*

Before proceeding with the subject of my paper I desire to exhibit some relics of Napoleon I.

In the museum of the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, is a chess table with the following notice:

"Made for Napoleon at St. Helena, of island woods, by the carpenter, Tom Lowe. After the death of Napoleon it was bought by a Mr. Gideon and given to his daughter, Mrs. Bovell; she, on leaving St. Helena, gave it to her husband's clerk, from whose wife it was purchased and brought from St. Helena by the late Lieutenant Alan G. Paul. Presented to the Institute by his family."

The late Marian Magnus, of London, England, was my first cousin, her mother having been my father's eldest sister; Miss Magnus, having been informed of the existence of the chess table in the museum at the Drexel Institute at Philadelphia, sent to me the two Napoleon relics, properly attested as to their authenticity.

From this attested document the following is a condensed statement: (Fig. 62.)

Julia Magnus, my father's sister, married Mr. Lewis Gideon and went to the Island of St. Helena about 1816; it was then the residence of Napoleon, an important coaling and military station, which continued until the time of the opening of the Suez Canal, when its importance entirely ceased. Mr. Gideon often saw Napoleon during his residence on the island; Mrs. Gideon helped to make the flag that was placed on Napoleon's bier, from which the accompanying piece was taken. (Fig. 63.) Samuel Magnus went to St. Helena in 1827, remaining there some years, bringing back with him to London this piece of the flag and a piece of the saddle-cloth. (Fig. 64.) The description is in his handwriting, and is as follows:

"Taken from Napoleon's saddle-cloth."

Major Bovell, referred to in connection with the chess table, married Julia, the daughter of Mr. Gideon, about 1841.

During the active business career of the Messrs. Gideon in St. Helena, they furnished large quantities of supplies to American shipping, using the island as a place for re-fitting. These drafts given by the captains of the American vessels were sent to our house in London, thence to Philadelphia for collection and final remittance; accompanying this is a letter from the captain of the ship "Mary Gardnier," under date of St. Helena, May 27, 1858, addressed to Messrs, Cooper, Sag Harbor, New York, with notification of draft in favor of Messrs. L. Gideon & Son for $2,842. (Fig. 65.) [See note.]

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It is to be my privilege this evening to recount some of the ceremonies that have survived with the Jewish people through many centuries of opposition and persecution.

The liturgy was first formed in the second century of the present era, founded upon the writings of Ezra, 459 B. C., and although added to, it has remained substantially as originally arranged. It is a compilation of Psalms and invocations, and an expression of thankfulness to the Almighty for blessings vouchsafed. An earnest plea to be relieved from the distress of persecution was added in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and whilst happily this has ceased to be necessary amongst civilized nations, it is unfortunately yet applicable in Russia, Roumania and other countries with the claim to modern civilization.

## The Word "Jew."

There are three English words by which the modern Jew is known:

Hebrew, Israelite, Jew.

Hebrew is derived from the River Eber,[1] and was first applied to Abraham who came from beyond the River Jordan, and his immediate descendants were so entitled.

The term Israelite is, as is apparent, taken from the name Israel, which was given to Jacob after his encounter with the

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Note.—These relics have since been presented to the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia.

[1] Eber means beyond or across.

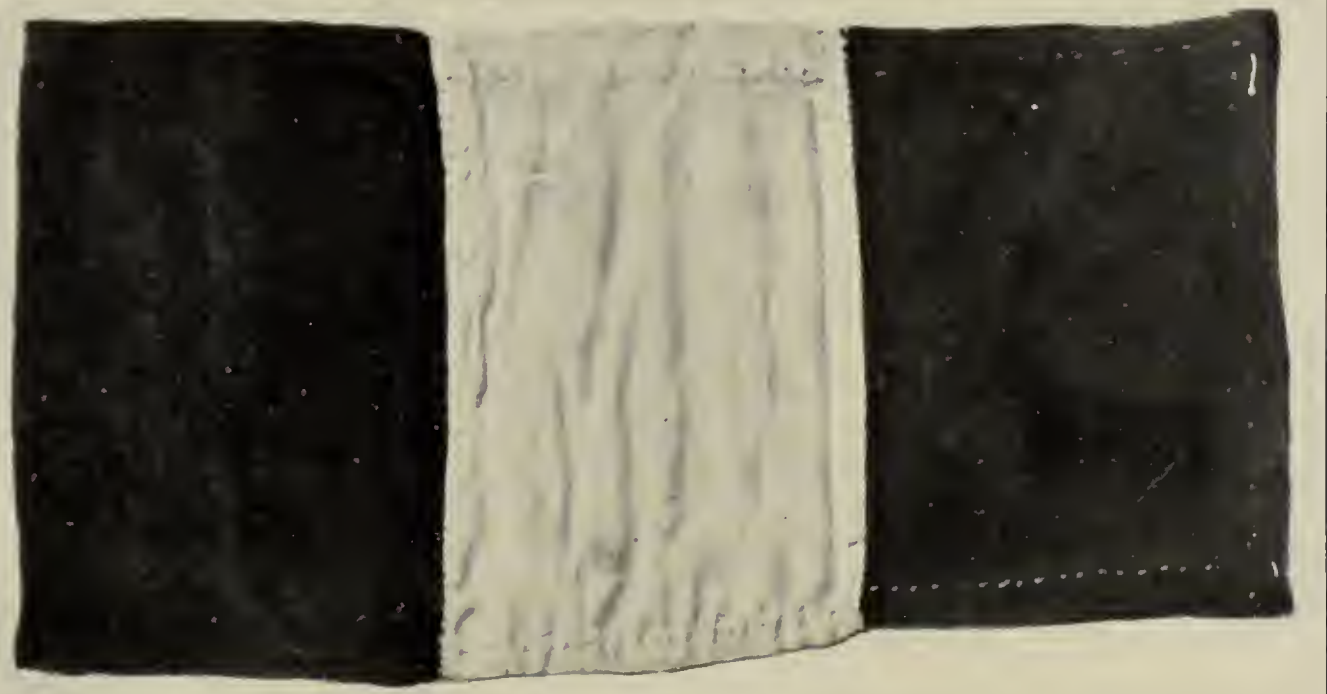

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Fig. 63. Piece of Flag placed on Bier of Napoleon I at St. Helena.
Fig. 64. Piece of Saddle Cloth used by Napoleon I at St. Helena.

angel, in which the text of Genesis recites, "And he wrestled with the angel and prevailed;" the word Israel—in Hebrew Yisrael—meaning "Prince of God."

The word Jew found its way into the English language, the term being found as Judea in Anglo-Saxon Gospels of the year 1000. When the Normans settled in England and incorporated many of their French words into the English language thereafter they used the old French term Juieu, which is found in many forms of English; this word, derived from the Latin accusative Judæum, in turn came from the Greek and originally from the Aramaic. They relate back to the cognomen for the tribe of Judah, which was intended to apply to all Israelites. The word Jehudi is found in the books of Nehemiah and Esther.

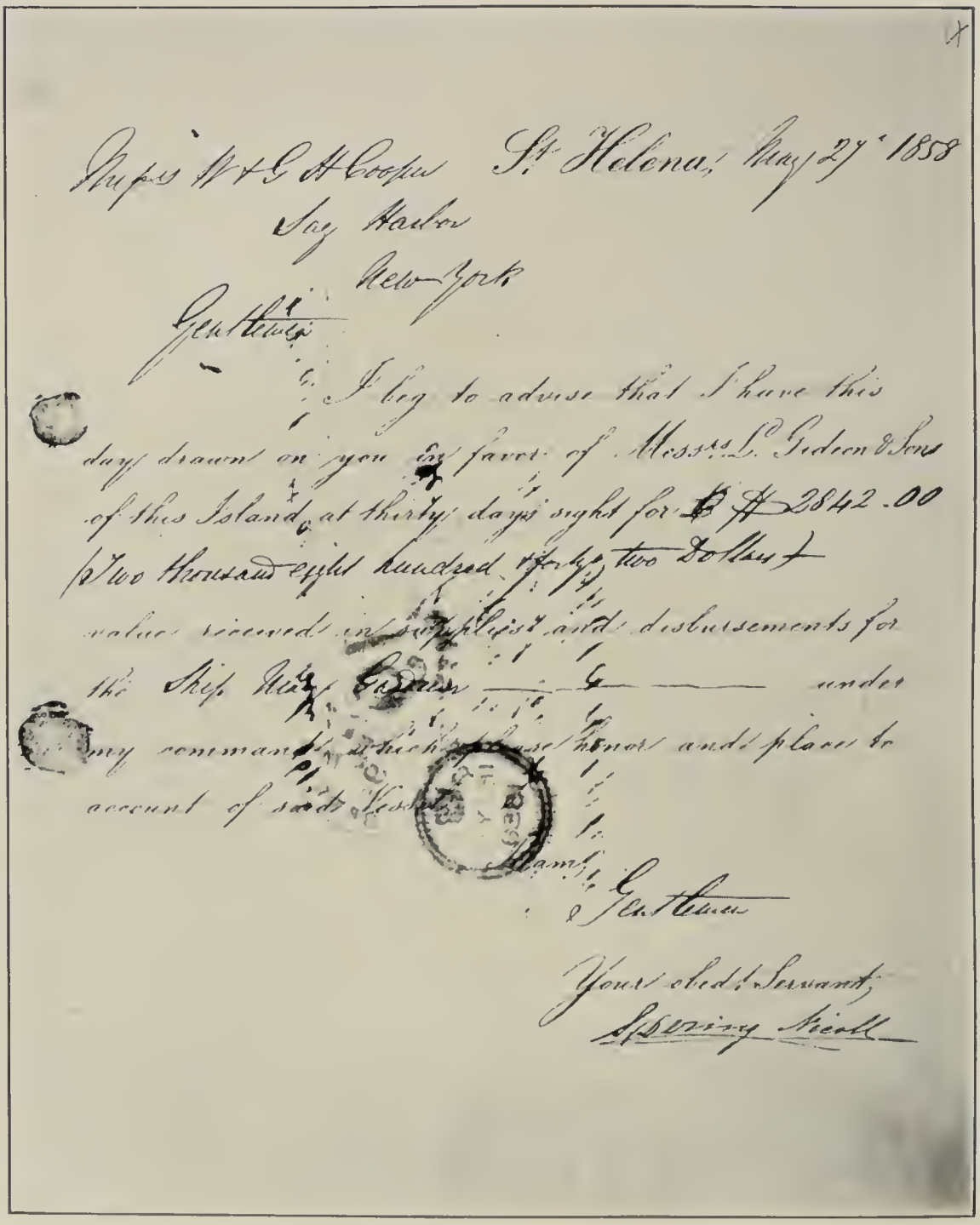
### "The Badge."

The badge was placed on the dress of the Jews to separate them from others as early as the thirteenth century to distinguish the heretic from the true believer. The idea of such distinction was derived from Islam, in which the dress of the Jews was characterized by a different color from that of the true believer, and in the seventh century the Jews were ordered to wear a yellow seam on their outer garments. The four kinds of inhabitants were indicated by law by the color of the turban; blue was worn by the Christians, yellow by the Jews, white by the Mussulmans, red by the Magicians, the Persians, who worshipped fire. It is evident that the idea was some form of retaliation for a similar restriction placed upon the Christians in Islam, since the order of the Council applied to Saracens as well as Jews. In the eleventh century the Jews in Egypt were ordered to wear bells and a small wooden calf on their garments, to remind them of the golden one, and in the fourteenth century they were obliged to wear yellow turbans. This custom was introduced in France as early as 1269, and was imperative on both sexes, the age varying from seven to thirteen and fourteen years. It was mainly worn upon the breast, although at times a second badge was required to be worn upon the back. At first it was saffron yellow, afterward partly colored red and white. When found without the badge the Jew was fined various sums, but for special reasons and for payment, he was allowed to go without, more especially when traveling, but always the authorities required the payment of an annual sum for their use. In Spain prior to the expul-

sion in 1492, the earliest record is of 1219, and later in 1415 under Benedict a bull was issued requiring a yellow and red badge, the men wearing it on their breast, the women on their forehead. In Italy it was worn in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was styled "O" from its shape, in several instances being accompanied by a pointed hat, whilst in Venice the hat entirely replaced the badge. It was first introduced into England by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1222, and was in the form of a band, at first white, afterward yellow. In 1274, under Edward I, its shape became that of the Table of the Law. In Germany a similar experience was had, although in the fourteenth century the hat was the chief mark of identification.

In Poland there is no trace of the badge, but only of the hat, whilst in Crete up to the present day some of the houses of the Jews are marked with the letter "O."..

The name Megillah, The Roll, is given to the Book of Esther (Fig. 66), which is read on the day called Purim, occurring in the month of March, being in commemoration of the deliverance of the Persian Jews from the plot of Haman. The book is entirely secular, the name of God not being mentioned therein. The events described occurred in the reign of King Xerxes, who is known in the Book of Esther as Ahashuerus, who had deposed his Queen Vashti for disobedience of orders. Many beautiful maidens were brought before him so that he might choose a successor; he selected Esther as being the most comely. At this time the Grand Vizier Haman commanded Mordecai the Jew (who was the cousin of Esther the Queen) to do obeisance to him. Upon Mordecai's refusal Haman informed the king that the Jews in his dominions were disloyal and he agreed to pay 10,000 silver talents into the royal treasury for permission to exterminate the race. The king granted his request. This became known to Esther, who at great personal risk went before the king to ask to have the decree rescinded. Ashahuerus, delighted with her appearance, held out his scepter in token of clemency and promised to dine with her in her own apartments. At the banquet, when Esther preferred her request, both the king and the grand vizier learned for the first time that the queen was a Jewess. Ahashuerus granted her petition, but the laws of the Medes and Persians being irrevocable, permission only could be given to the Jews to stand on their defense, which they successfully accomplished, and although granted by the same proclamation the



Messrs W & G H Cooper St Helena, May 27th 1858
Sag Harbor
New York

Gentlemen

I beg to advise that I have this day drawn on you in favor of Messrs L. Gideon & Sons of this Island, at thirty days sight for $ 2842.00 (Two thousand eight hundred & forty two Dollars) value received in supplies and disbursements for the Ship Mary Gardner under my command, which please honor and place to account of said Vessel.

Yours

Gentlemen

Your obedt Servant,
Spering Nicoll

Fig. 65. Letter of Advice with Draft from Messrs. Gideon, St. Helena, May 27, 1858.

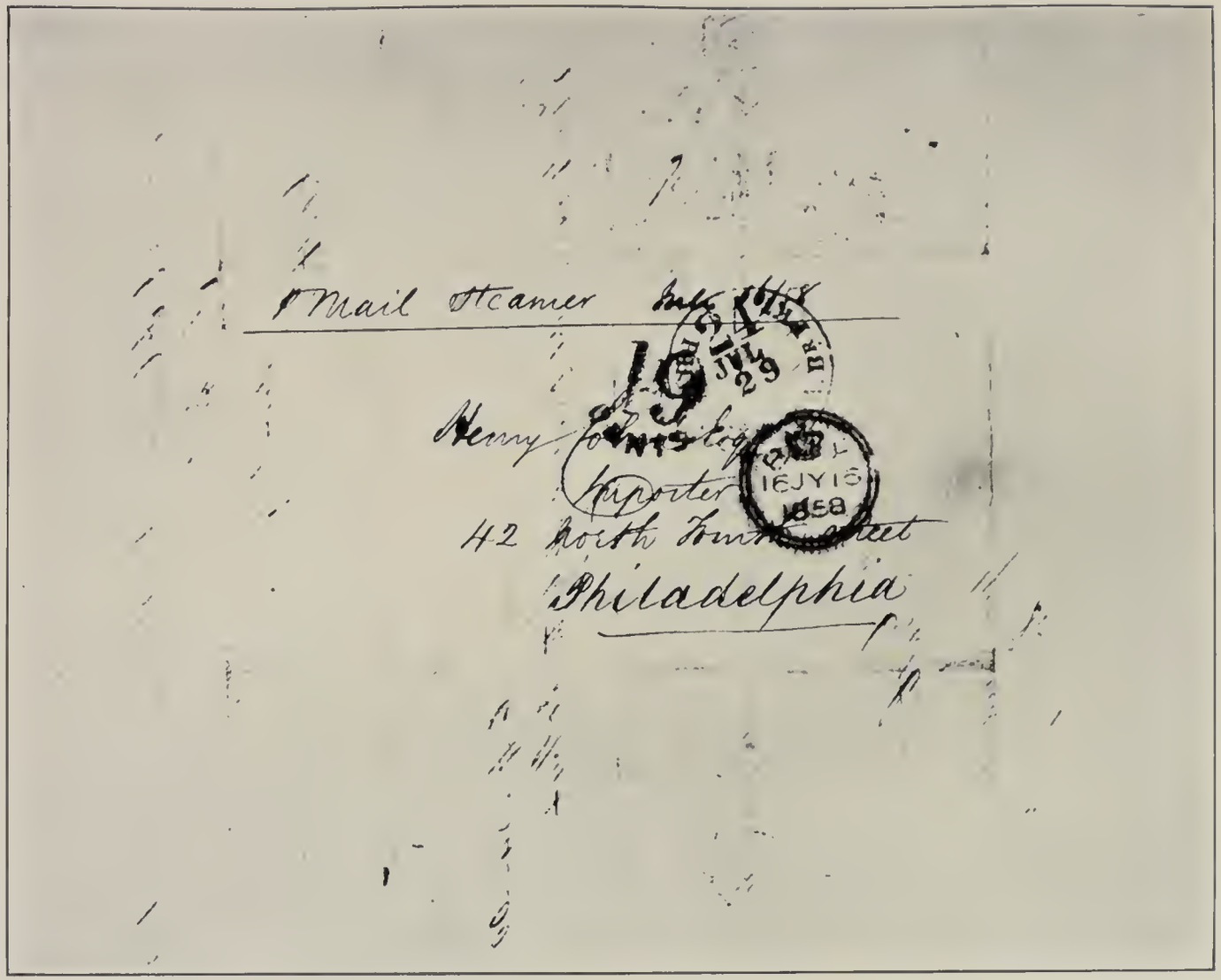



Fig. 65A. Letter of Advice with Draft from Messrs. Gideon, St. Helena, May 27, 1858.

power to pillage, they refused to avail themselves of their right to plunder.

The term "Purim" has since been used to commemorate a signal deliverance, as is evident by a circumstance that took place in Saragossa.

During the fifteenth century, when the Jews occupied a prominent position in Spain, on the occasion of the birthday of the king it was customary to have a procession in which members of the congregations joined, carrying the scrolls of the Law in closed wooden cases; on the top of the latter the silver bells used in the service being exposed to the eye.

Since ribaldry usually followed a public holiday of this character, the Jewish authorities at Saragossa decided that the scrolls should not be taken from the ark, but to avoid public criticism the wooden cases still continued to be carried in the procession; on this particular occasion an informer, in a spirit of anti-Semitic hatred, notified the chief of police that the wooden cases carried in the procession did not contain the scrolls, and that the deception was intended as a slight and insult to the civil authorities. At a prominent point in the city the procession was stopped,the police seized the cases, opened them and found that the scrolls were in their entirety. The Jewish authorities marching in the procession had been placed under arrest with the explanation that information had been received that the closed cases did not contain the scrolls; they well knew that the discovery would result in their immediate conviction and execution. They were amazed, in view of their instructions, to see the scrolls resting in the boxes, and naturally it was attributed to a miracle; but on their safe return to the synagogue building, and on interrogation of the sexton, it was discovered that being impressed with the seriousness of the situation and by a dream during the previous night, the latter had personally placed the scrolls in the cases without explanation to any one. For many years a special rejoicing was kept by the Israelites in Saragossa in commemoration of the event, and this was called the Saragossa Purim.

## Personal Names.

Before the exile, children were not named after their relatives, and even in royal families none of the twenty-one kings of Judah was named after a predecessor or after David, the founder of the family. Personal peculiarities gave rise to names, as Laban

(white or blond). After Joseph had interpreted the dream of Pharaoh and the latter had placed him as ruler over the kingdom he changed his name to Zaphenath-pa'neach, signifying "Revealer of Secret Things." Moses named one son Gershom ("I was a stranger there"), for he said, "I have been a sojourner in a strange land;" the other Eliezer, "My God was my help," meaning "The God of my father was my help and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh." There were no trade names in the Bible corresponding to the Smith or Müller of England and Germany, but names taken from objects are found, especially among females, such as Rebecca (sheep rope), Peninnah (from coral), Keren-happuch (from a box of face paint); abstract names were applied to women, such as Michal (power). In the names of one hundred and twenty persons selected at random, eighty-four are derived from animals or plants; Leah ("gazelle"), Rachel ("Ewe"). Oreb ("raven") and Zeeb ("wolf") were princes of the Midianites; and Caleb (the dog) was the founder of the chief Judean tribe; Jonah is the equivalent of "dove;" Zipporah "a bird," Deborah "bee." Esther's Jewish name was Hadassah, which means "myrtle."

As an instance of the signification of names, it may be of interest to state that some time since I was asked for an explanation of the feeding of Elijah by ravens; the word Oreb might be capable of a different meaning, according to the vowels attached thereto. The Talmudists in whose times the Scriptures were not yet supplied with vowel points, discuss the question as to the correct reading of the term. Possibly two persons from a place called "Oreb," hence Orebim, people of Oreb, brought Elijah his daily food. Most probably the punctuators took the word in the sense of "ravens."

After the exile, biblical names came into use, many ending in A, which are Aramaic, and are found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Mordecai is derived from the Babylonian god (Marduke) as are Belteshazzar, Shenazar and Sheshbazzar from other deities.

The prevalence of the name of Alexander amongst Jews in the Orient is explained as follows:

At the time of Alexander the Great, an ordinance was issued that his statue should be erected in every place of worship; the Jewish authorities pleaded earnestly for its abrogation as to the synagogue, explaining their inability to assent, and the com-

Fig. 66. Megillah or Book of Esther, written in Hebrew.
Fig. 74. Small Torah or Book of the Law, originally belonging to the Gratz family.

promise was effected that every male born to Jewish parents during the following decade should receive the name of Alexander.

During the post-Talmudic period the custom prevailed of calling one of the sons, generally the eldest, after his paternal grandfather, and the grandfather of Maimonides had the following name: Joseph ben Isaac ben Joseph ben Obadiah ben Solomon ben Obadiah. In the Kalonymus family there were only five names among fourteen persons throughout three centuries, and as a consequence certain names became characteristic of certain districts. Especially noteworthy was the use made of Jacob's blessing to transfer a personal name from the civic to the sacred sphere, Judah being compared to a lion's whelp; under Jacob's blessing Judah became Leo or Lowe. During the middle ages the curious custom arose of combining the abbreviation of a title with the initials of a name to form a single personal name; for example, Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac was known as "Rashi," Rabbi Moses ben Maimon as "Rambam." The use of Arabic names became general in the later centuries; as an instance Al-faraj occurs as the name of the translator at Girgenti, and it is considered the remote origin of the curious name of Admiral Farragut, whose grandfather came from Minorca.

As is well known, surnames were little used until modern times; in the Austrian empire an edict was issued in 1787 compelling the Jews resident in that country to adopt surnames; officers were appointed to register, and if an applicant refused to select a name the commission forced one upon him; this led to the occurrence of artificial surnames the traces of which are seen to the present time. Napoleon, by his decree of July, 1808, insisted upon the Jews adopting fixed names, and in Bohemia the provisions of the law of 1787 restricting them to biblical names were not rescinded until 1836.

## "The Feast of Tabernacles."

The Feast of Tabernacles was instituted for an agricultural and pastoral nation. It was one of the festivals on which all who resided away from the sacred city were commanded to make their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and there bring offerings as a testimony to the Lord.

"And thou shalt rejoice in thy festival, thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy man servant, and thy maid servant, and the Levite, and the stranger, and the fatherless and the widow

that are within thy gates." And the reason for this observance is given in the words "Because the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy increase and in all the works of thy hands, and therefore shalt thou surely rejoice."

The adverse influence of a fate that nothing could change converted the Jewish race from an agricultural to an urban people and naturally the celebration of Succoth (Tabernacles) changed with the altered conditions. A voluntary change towards city life is noticeable in our times in the agricultural communities of several of the leading nations, particularly in America and England. And yet husbandry, the greatest and most useful of all the occupations, is the mainstay of every progressive nation; and so long as that remains true, the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, with its memories of national greatness based on the agricultural life of the Jews of Palestine in ancient days, must exert a positive power for good and a direct influence to draw many of the people to the soil. "I believe in a spade and an acre of good ground," said Emerson. "Whoso cuts a straight path to his own living by the help of God, in the sun and rain, and spouting grain, seems to me a universal working man. He solves the problem of life, not for one, but for all men of sound body." As in the case of the other festivals, this, too, is a commemoration of the deliverance from Egyptian bondage. From a landless people, Israel emerged to the full stature of manhood when he took to the soil and built a habitation that was founded on the most permanent of all the interests of mankind.

The lulab (Fig. 67) is the name given to the festive palm branch which with the etrog—citron—was commanded to be used on this feast. The three constituents are

1. A shoot of the palm tree in its folded state before the leaves are spread out.
2. Three twigs of myrtle.
3. Two willow branches.

These constituting with the citron (Fig. 68) "the four species." In the second Temple it was waved during the recitation expressive of thanksgiving or prayer; facing east and holding it in the right hand, with the citron in the left, the worshipper shook the former in the directions east, south, west and north, upward and downward, forward and backward; this was in acknowledgment

Fig. 67. Lulab or Palm Branch.
Fig. 68. Etrog in Silver Stand.
Fig. 72. Shofar or Trumpet.
Fig. 73. Silver Spice Box.
Fig. 76. Tallith or Prayer Scarf.
Fig. 77. Silver Yad or Pointer.

of God's sovereignty over nature. They were carried in procession around the reading desk, whilst the 118th Psalm, 25th verse was chanted. (Fig. 69.)

An ancient writer of song, commemorating the observance of these customs, compares the

Citron with the heart,
Lulab with the spine,
Myrtle with the eyes,
Willow with the lips,

bringing together these elements of the human body in a poem of praise to God.

After the destruction of the Temple the practice was and is now observed everywhere during the seven days of Tabernacle; the ordinance reads: "And ye shall take you on the first day the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees and willows of the brook, and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days." A representation of the lulab appears on an ancient glass dish found in the Jewish catacombs and now in a museum at Rome; blessings are said upon taking the palm branch; followed by the chanting of the "Hallel" consisting of a series of Psalms.

Another incident in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles is the command to dwell in booths (Figs. 70, 71); the statute reads: "In booths shall ye dwell seven days; in order that your generations may know that I caused the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt." In modern times and in Western countries each congregation provides a Succah or tabernacle properly garnished, in which the congregants assemble; a suitable thanksgiving service is held, bread and wine partaken of so that the memorial is retained.

### Shofar—English "Trumpet."[2]

It is not only the solitary ancient musical instrument actually preserved in the Mosaic ritual, but is the oldest form of wind instrument known to be retained in use in the world. (Fig. 72.) It was used originally, as noted in the Pentateuch, to announce the new moon and solemn feasts, and especially at the month

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[2] In Biblical times there were trumpets called "Hatsotserot."

of Tishri, the beginning of the civil year, September, and above all for military purposes like the modern bugle to give the signal for going out to battle, for the announcement of a victory and for a recall of the troops. It was also used as a musical instrument in religious processions. It is made of a ram's horn. The sounds mentioned, Tekiah was the bass and Teruah was the treble, which, occurring between the two Tekiahs, constitute a bar of music and are rendered three times,—first in honor of the kingdom; second, to cause the congregation to remember the sanctity of the occasion; and third, the Precept with the Commandments. The oldest wind instrument was the horn of an animal with a natural cavity and a mouth-piece formed by cutting off the end. The etymology of the Hebrew word Shofar is found in the Assryian "Sappartu," meaning the horn of a wild goat and subsequently used for horn in general. It is interesting to note that the Hebrew word Queren, Latin cornu and English horn, are all used for a wind instrument and for the horn of an animal.

### Habdalah.

This indicates the prayers by means of which a division is made between the Sabbath and the following work-days. This is begun by a benediction over a cup of wine; afterward brief blessings over spices and a freshly kindled light. (Fig. 73.) Then a longer benediction in which the difference between the Sabbath and the secular is emphasized, and thanks are given to God as the author of this distinction. While pronouncing the benediction over the light, the hands are opened and closed because the blood, that is life, can be seen through the fingers. Furthermore, light having been created by God at the beginning of the week, it is proper to pronounce a benediction over it at the beginning of each recurrent week; and again, since fire may not be used in any form on the Sabbath, its employment is a demonstration of the fact that the Sabbath has ended and the working-days have again begun.

Reasons for the employment of spices are: that the sense of smell, as the most delicate, affords not a gross material pleasure, but rather a spiritual one; and that the perfume of spices is therefore a comfort to the over-soul of the Sabbath, which grieves when the holy day departs. This ceremony is followed by the singing of a series of hymns.

SUKKOTH IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY. From Bodenschatz's *Kirchliche Verfassung*

Fig. 69. Procession in Synagogue on Feast of Tabernacles, carrying the Lulab.

Fig. 70. Tabernacle or Succa in home of Jewish family.

Fig. 71. Tabernacle arranged on Roof of Private Dwelling to comply with Ordinance to "Dwell in Booths," as memorial of Exodus from Egypt.

ARBANG KANFOT (also called Tsitsit).

The four-cornered garment or Tallit Katon (lesser tallit).

To the four corners are fastened the fringes. This is worn by male persons, following the commandment (Numbers xv, 37–41, and Deuteronomy xxii, 12), and is worn under the upper garment during the entire day, and is provided for male children as soon as they are able to put on their clothes without assistance. It was adopted by the European Jews in the time of persecution, when they had to refrain from exhibiting the outer garment with fringes. The wearing of the latter was finally restricted to the synagogue, whilst the precept to wear fringes at all times was fulfilled in the wearing of the Arbang Kanfot. To the wearer, the Tsitsit (fringes) were a reminder of the duty of the Jew toward the Law. Like the Phylacteries on the head and arm and the Mezuzah on the doorpost, the Tsitsit on the garment was intended to serve a like purpose.

In biblical times the blue cord entwined in the fringe was its principal attraction and distinction. The dye for this color was obtained from a fish which appeared in Palestine but once in seventy years, and even then was scarce; hence it was permitted to insert white wool threads alone.

The twisting follows a set rule; 10–5–6–5 = 26, which letters comprise the name of God in Hebrew, numbering being from the alphabet—Aleph the first letter being also the number *one*.

In the larger or outer scarf-Tallit, the twisting is 7–8–11–13: "May the period of our lives be long and great."

Subsequent to the French Revolution, under the influence of Moses Mendelssohn, the Jews living in northern and western Europe were induced to adopt the German language, and in France similar conditions resulted. In the latter country, the first Napoleon in 1807 called into being the French Sanhedrin, which formed a landmark for the new era. The first question, still of great importance even in our days, was as to whether the Jewish people living in France acknowledged it as their country, felt bound to defend it and to obey her civil laws.

The question as to loyalty to their adopted country the delegates answered spontaneously by proclaiming their readiness to defend France until death, and they framed a declaration as to their relations to the law of the land which we would still accept, to wit, "that their religion makes it their duty to consider the law of the state as the supreme law in civil and political

matters; that consequently, should their religious code, or its various interpretations, contain civil or political commands at variance with those of the French code, those commands would, of course, cease to influence and govern them, since they must, above all, acknowledge and obey the laws of the state."

Let me narrate one incident of the period.

Moses Mendelssohn, who was called the Socrates of his day, when taking the waters at Pyrmonte, became acquainted with a noted merchant and in the course of conversation was invited to visit him at his home in Hamburg. Mendelssohn was of a retiring disposition, being deformed in person, but with a wonderful mind; on the way he visited his friend Lessing, living then at Brunswick, and it may be said parenthetically that Lessing wrote his tale of Nathan the Wise, based on his knowledge of Mendelssohn and the thoughts and aspirations to which he had often given utterance; and it was this work of Lessing's that proved the foundation of the social and political freedom of the Jewish people in Germany.

Mendelssohn was received by the merchant and by his daughter; after a number of visits, having learned that the girl had expressed herself as frightened by his homely appearance, he concluded that he must say farewell; entering the room he placed himself at her side; they spoke on various topics kindly and confidentially, but the girl did not raise her eyes. At last she asked him, "Do you believe that marriages are made in Heaven?" "Certainly," replied Mendelssohn, "and I can particularly vouch for it; for, according to a Talmudic legend, on the birth of every child a voice called out from Heaven that so and so shall marry so and so. When I was born, the name of my wife was also proclaimed, but in addition it was said she will unfortunately be humpbacked. 'Oh, God,' I answered, 'if a girl be deformed, she soon becomes embittered and harsh, and a girl should be kind and beautiful. Lieber Gott, give me the humpback and let the girl be attractive and beautiful.'" Hardly had this been said when the girl threw herself into his arms. She became his wife; they had handsome and brilliant children, descendants of whom are now living in our own city of Philadelphia.

As an instance of the brotherhood of man that prevails in Israel, I will give a circumstance in the family life of my grandparents:

At the close of the Peninsular War, in 1806, a man named, John Moss was traveling through France and Italy selling articles of English manufacture. On the occasion of one of his visits to London, it being Friday afternoon, the eve of the Jewish Sabbath, my grandmother was summoned to reply to an inquiry from a stranger, a man of sedate but prepossessing appearance, who said that he was a stranger and asked permission to join Mrs. Cohen's family for Sabbath eve prayers. This was readily accorded, as was the custom, and the stranger, who was this John Moss referred to, became a frequent visitor and intimate friend of my grandparents.

He entered into business relations with my grandfather, the late Solomon Cohen, who was so impressed with his personality and ability that he extended to him a credit enabling him to carry on an extensive business on the Continent. His only relative was an aged mother, who lived in Petticoat Lane and refused to move from there, and would accept from her son only a small weekly allowance, which was often conveyed to her by the members of my grandfather's family. Some years afterwards, in the course of conversation, it was discovered that my grandfather and this John Moss had been at school together in London in their tenth year. He died in London in 1865, a bachelor, and by his will bequeathed his fortune to the children of my grandparents in recognition of the hospitality that had originally been shown to him, a stranger, and of the courtesy and friendship that had existed through a long series of years, devotedly maintained after the death of my grandparents by my father's brother, the late B. S. Cohen, of London, who, with his wife and their children, ministered to the old gentleman's care and happiness.

Michael Gratz, of Philadelphia, married Miriam Simon, of Lancaster, Pa., and had twelve children, the most notable of whom was Hyman Gratz (1776–1857), for years president of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities; one of the founders, director and treasurer of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; treasurer of the Congregation Mikveh Israel, Philadelphia, 1824–1856. His sister, Rebecca Gratz, is of course well known to all Philadelphians.

In these early years places of Jewish worship were unknown in smaller towns, hence it was incumbent upon the devout to carry with him his law or Torah, and the one now shown to you was that of the Simon-Gratz family of Lancaster, later coming into the

possession of the Philadelphia congregation as an heirloom. (Fig. 74.) The wording on the top reads: "Know before whom thou standest." On the representation of the two tables of stone are the initial words of the Ten Commandments; inside of the folding doors is the Shemang Yisrael, "Hear O Israel," the proclamation of Faith. Within is a sepher torah, or five books of Moses, written in miniature, which will be described in showing a modern scroll.

My great-grandfather, Joseph Cohen, was a member of the Gratz-Simon household in the eighteenth century, and it is quite possible that he himself transcribed the manuscript, since I have a document in Hebrew signed by him evidencing his skill in that respect.

The Scroll of the Law (In Hebrew—Sepher Torah)

is the Pentateuch written on a scroll of parchment. (Fig. 75.)

There are in the Pentateuch 613 Precepts divided into two classes, 248 affirmative, 365 negative. They correspond in number with the component parts of man, 248 the members of his body, 365 his sinews. These commands are religious, civil and moral, designed to insure the perfect good of the individual and of humanity at large. The idea has prevailed that the body, the home of the soul, should be a fit abiding place for it.

In ancient Judea the king was required to have a copy to be kept near his throne and carried into battle, and every head of a household possessed one. This he must not sell, even in dire distress, except for the purpose of paying his teacher's fee or of defraying his own marriage expenses. It must be written on the skin of a clean animal (parchment), prepared especially with chemicals to render it durable; the writing is executed by means of a reed grown in Palestine, or a quill, not only to perpetuate the ancient custom, but a steel pen would not be used since steel is a sign of war and should be excluded as it was in the building of the Temple. The text is of square Hebrew characters; the ink is made from a special formula and must be black. It is the scribe's duty to prepare himself by daily meditation for performing the holy work of writing the Pentateuch; he must have before him a correct copy, and may not write a single word from memory, and he must pronounce every word before writing it;

Fig. 75. Sepher Torah or Book of the Law, written in Hebrew on parchment

the scroll may contain no vowels or accents. It is not divided into verses nor chapters, but has divisions, which are termed parashyot or sections, fifty-four in number, dating from a record which is found in Babylonia as early as the time of Samuel. Thus the entire Pentateuch is read in each year, one section a week.

Parchment naturally was much more extensively used in ancient times than at present, since not only were all important state documents so written, but it was originally used for private records. According to Pliny, it was introduced in Pergamos about 200 B. C., at a time when the supply of papyrus was threatened on account of Ptolemy stopping its exportation from Egypt; its manufacture was urged and came to be an article of great importance as an export, the word taking its name from Pergamos.

When a scroll is sent from Jerusalem, for example, where many are prepared, it is made in two parts and the last two words are omitted so that it may be incomplete until it is placed in the ark, its final resting-place.

The reading of the Law has been one of the most powerful factors of instruction and education in the world; even the rise of Christianity and Islam was made possible chiefly through its customary reading and that of the prophets on the various days of rest, when it was accompanied by an interpretation applicable to the needs of the time. Koran (derived from the word Kara, to read) signifies the reading; that which ought to be read. It belongs to our earliest records; Josephus, who lived at the time of Christ, writes:

"The Law-giver showed the Law to be the best and the most necessary means of instruction by enjoining the people to assemble —not once or twice, but every week, while abstaining from all other work in order to hear the Law and learn it in a thorough manner—a thing which all other law-givers seem to have neglected."

The word "Pentateuch" is a Greek adaptation of the expression Hamishah Humashe Torah (five-fifths of the Law) applied to the books. In Hebrew these are named by the first words of each section—Bereshit (Genesis), Shemot (Exodus), Vayikra (Leviticus), Bamidbar (Numbers) and Debarim (Deuteronomy). In the Septuagint they were named as indicating their contents: Genesis, "the beginning of things;" Exodus, "the exodus from

captivity;" Leviticus, "Levitical Laws;" Numbers, the "Numbers" of the Israelites; and Deuteronomy, the "repetition of the Law."

The system of chapters was introduced into the editions of the Hebrew Bibles, and hence into the Torah, from the Vulgate. In ancient Israel a rule prevailed that a copy of the Pentateuch was unlimited in value; there was an ordinance that the inhabitants of the city might oblige one another to protect the scroll of the Law, developing a knowledge of the synagogue, whilst the significance paid to the Bible greatly influenced the distribution of the copies and led to the foundation of libraries; the highest ideal of the young and old, and of great and small, was the study of the Law, thus forming the basis of that indomitable eagerness of Jewish youth for education. In the early writings many comments occur, as these:

"The study of the Law is of more value than the offering of daily sacrifice."

"As the child must satisfy its hunger day by day, so must man busy himself with the Torah."

"A single day devoted to the Torah outweighs one thousand sacrifices."

"One should study the Torah with his whole heart even at every sacrifice."

In the synagogue it is read at the morning service of the Sabbath and holy days, on Sabbath afternoons, and in ancient times on Monday and Thursday mornings for the villagers who came to the city for market and court days, a custom that still prevails. On Sabbath morning seven are called to the reading desk in order to give an opportunity to each congregant in turn to receive this honor; in former times the recipient read the section assigned to him, but in later years the minister reads the entire series of sections for the day, the congregant following the words as pointed out. The order of precedence is as follows:

The Cohen—the descendant of Aaron, the high priest.
The Levite—the descendant from the Levitical tribe.
The Israelite—not belonging to the priestly or Levitical family,

followed by four others of the last-named class. The minister is supported by the president of the congregation (or senior

warden, as it may be termed). The scroll of the Law is carried from the ark to the reading desk by an unmarried man selected from the congregation, and after its covering has been removed it is exhibited to the congregation, the minister pronouncing the following:

"This is the Law which Moses set before the children of Israel. The Law which Moses commanded us is the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob. The way of God is perfect; the word of the Lord is tried; he is a buckler to all those who trust in Him."

On entering the synagogue the worshipper has put on this greater Tallith or prayer scarf (Fig. 76), and pronounces the following: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments, and commanded us to wear the garment of fringes."

The Tallith is a mantle with fringe at the four corners, frequently called a prayer-shawl, worn over the garments, and in the orthodox form of worship always in the synagogue during the Sabbath and festival services, but not in the evening, except on the eve of the Day of Atonement. By the minister it is frequently worn over the head during exceptionally sacred portions of the service. It is woven of white wool or silk, with black or blue stripes at the ends, and is used in compliance with the instructions in Numbers 15–38 and following. The use of the Tallith probably suggested the Roman "Pallium," as well as the other various forms of mantles and scarfs worn to-day by the clergy.

The verses of the song of Haazeenu (Deuteronomy xxxii, 1–43) are placed in seventy double rows; this is the section that occurred on the Sabbath of my thirteenth birthday, the occasion of my confirmation and admission to the privileges of the synagogue. Descended from Aaron the High-Priest, my right was to be called first to read from the scroll as follows:

I will read one verse in Hebrew, using the yad or hand (Fig. 77) to indicate the words, a custom that is probably as ancient as the synagogue itself, and will follow with the English translation. The yad is a silver pointer to guide the reader of the books of the Law, in which the lines are written together. The word used—yad—means hand, and had its origin from the priestly hand.

HAAZEENU—xxxii.

1. Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and let the earth hear the words of my mouth.

2. My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as heavy rains upon the grass, and as showers upon herbs.

3. When I call on the name of the Lord, ascribe ye greatness unto our God.

4. He is the rock, his word is perfect; for all his ways are just; the God of truth and without iniquity; just and upright is he.

The word Torah means doctrine or law, and in some respects is analogous to the Homeric poems which originally formed a single epic, but which were later split into twenty-four parts each. This Torah is read in an annual cycle of fifty-four portions as established in Babylonia or in a triennial cycle, as was the custom in Palestine.

In all probability there never has been another people that surrounded its holy writings with such respect, transmitted them through the centuries with such self-sacrifice, and preserved them without change for more than two thousand years. It may be stated that the blessings over the Torah are the oldest benediction extant.

The event which gave rise to the reading of the Haphtaroth, *i. e.*, sections of the prophets, occurred in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, or Famous, the eighth king of Syria, who, after he had smitten Egypt, went against the Israelites in Jerusalem, made a great massacre, plundered and polluted the Holy Temple and gave orders to destroy their books, prohibiting the reading of the weekly divisions of the Pentateuch. The Jews substituted the Haptarahs, or weekly sections of the books of the Prophets, corresponding in sentiment with those of the Pentateuch; this continued till the time of the Maccabees, when Mattathias and his son Judas Maccabeus threw off the Syrian yoke, when the weekly divisions of the Pentateuch were re-established. In commemoration, however, the reading of both was continued, the custom being retained and observed to the present time.

BELLS.

The use of bells is also associated with the robe of the high priest, which had seventy-two golden bells placed on the garment

so that the sound of his approach should be heard on his entrance to the Holy of Holies. In some instances bells are added to the curtain that hangs before the ark. The placing of the bells on the scrolls of the Law is in a measure a crowning; in Judaical writings three crowns are referred to—the crown of the Law, the crown of the priesthood, the royal crown; but better than all, "the crown of a good name," and whilst there is much ceremonial associated with the Jewish service, it is always subsidiary to the highest ethical conduct of life.

To quote from Heinrich Heine, with whom you are all familiar, in speaking of this Torah (the Law), he says: "The Jews, who appreciate the value of precious things, knew right well what they did when they left to their fate the golden and silver implements of sacrifice, the candlesticks and lamps, even the breast-plate of the High Priest adorned with great jewels, but saved the Bible. This was the real treasure of the Temple, and was not left a prey to the flames nor to the fury of Titus Vespasian."

David Dudley Field stated, "A nation of free men on this continent first rent the shackles that religious domination had been forging for centuries, and solemnly decreed that no man should dare intercept the radiance of the Almighty upon the human soul." And in closing I may be permitted to allude to the blessings of toleration and education that are freely extended to all in this dear home of liberty. To none more than to the Jew does this appeal, since until recent years educational institutions in Europe were closed to those of the Jewish faith, a restriction that exists in some sections even at the present time. The Jewish people are a small minority in this land, and although, as some would say, "It is our right as American citizens," it would seem better to express gratitude and loving kindness to the spirit of equity and justice that has *made*, and continues to support, toleration in its broadest form.

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Fig. 78. Cæsar.
Fig. 79. Augustus.
Fig. 80. Reverse of Fig. 79.
Fig. 81. Tiberius.

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84

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Fig. 82. Claudius.
Figs. 83, 84 and 85. Nero.

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87

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89

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Fig. 86. Domitian.
Fig. 87. Hadrian.
Figs. 88, 89 and 90. Marcus Aurelius.

Figs. 91 and 92. The two Gordians.
Fig. 93. Trebonianus Gallus.
Fig. 94. Constantine.
Fig. 95. Reverse of Fig. 94.

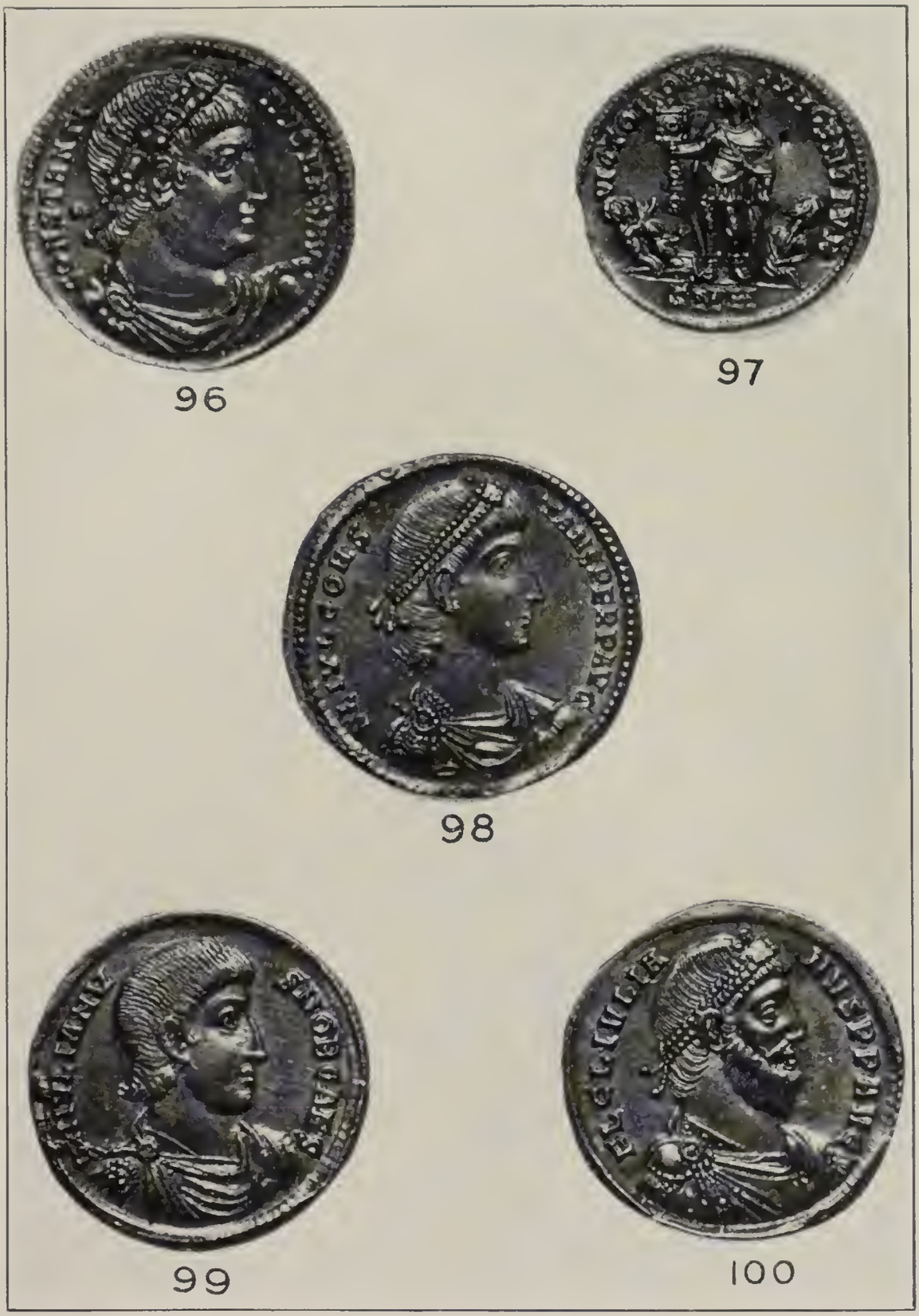


Fig. 96. Constantine.
Fig. 97. Reverse of Fig. 96.
Fig. 98. Constans.
Fig. 99. Young Head of Julian.
Fig. 100. Julian.

Fig. 101. Theodosius.
Fig. 102. Reverse of Fig. 101.
Fig. 103. Honorius.
Fig. 104. Romulus Augustulus.
Fig. 105. Carolus.

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Fig. 106. Arcadius.
Fig. 107. Justinian.
Fig. 108. Heraclius.
Fig. 109. Heraclius and two Sons.
Fig. 110. Constantinus.

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114

115

Fig. 111. Leo III.
Fig. 112. Reverse of Fig. 111.
Fig. 113. Irene.
Fig. 114. Head of Christ.
Fig. 115. Michael IV.

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Fig. 116. Manuel I.
Fig. 117. Frederick II.
Fig. 118. Francis II.

# "WHAT MY COINS HAVE TAUGHT ME."

By John T. Morris.

*(Read at the Meeting of the Society, December 16, 1912.)*

## Preface.

Before beginning my talk with you this evening I desire to say I have used quotations freely.

I have found words and sentences which expressed exactly what I desired to say, and all I have tried to do is to connect them together in such a way that there will be a continuity in the story describing the photographs which will soon appear on the screen.

I have been asked by one of our members when this Holy Roman Empire began.

It is a question I am not prepared to answer.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says: "The reign of Constantine the Great forms the most deep-reaching division in the history of Europe. The external continuity is not broken, but the principles which guided society in the Greek and Roman world are replaced by a new order of ideas. The emperor-worship which expressed a belief in the idea of the earthly empire of Rome, gives way to Christianity."

Constantine reigned between 306 and 337.

When describing the time of Charlemagne, Bryce beautifully writes of the Holy Empire:

"The first lesson of Christianity was love, a love that was to join in one body those whom suspicion and prejudice and pride of race had hitherto kept apart.

"There was thus formed by the new religion a community of the faithful, a Holy Empire designed to gather all men to its bosom and standing opposed to the manifold polytheism of the older world."

Bryce tells us in his delightful book, "The Holy Roman Empire," the exact date of the use of the name was 1156.

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Note.—The plates show the coins of Aureus, Denarius and Solidus enlarged for lantern purposes. The Aureus measures about ¾ inch. The large Solidus, or Numisma, measures 1½ inches.

"At this epoch appears another title, . . .

"To the accustomed 'Roman Empire' Frederick Barbarossa adds the epithet 'Holy' . . . So far as is known it occurs first in the famous privilege of Austria, granted by Frederick in the fourth year of his reign. Conrad II, 990–1039, is said to have used the word, but there is no proof of his having done so."

## "What My Coins Have Taught Me."

That pleasure can be found in the quiet of home.

That collecting or bringing together articles of historical interest or of artistic value is a continual education, connecting childhood with the present life and fitting one to enjoy productions of artists who have left their mark on examples of art of all ages preserved for our information and pleasure.

This generalizes in a few words the benefits I have received from my coins; a collection commenced as a boy, with no higher aim than a search for United States coins of the different years of our country, but now embracing coins having a higher numismatic value.

Specimens of the latter coins are the subject of this evening's talk.

In 1885 I attended an auction and became the purchaser of a gold Byzantian coin of Theodosius for $4.70. I labored under a misapprehension when I inferred that others could be had for a like price. Then and there I determined upon making a collection of the coins of the Holy Roman Empire, and I have the pleasure of throwing upon the screen photographs of certain coins which have been selected as having an individual interest.

## The Roman and Holy Roman Empire.

I have found it a broad subject, full of the deepest interest, touching on affairs of state and religion, from the beginning of the Christian era until its dissolution in 1806 by the abdication of the Emperor Francis II of Austria upon the refusal of Napoleon at the Diet of Regensburg to longer recognize the Empire. Then, and not until then, did modern civilization, as we know it, really commence.

Julius Cæsar found a world populated by barbarians. True, a civilization existed among them before his time, but the various tribes and races were scattered over Europe, and out of the existing

conditions he founded what we call the Roman Empire; not, however, until Frederick Barbarossa, in 1156, was the name "Holy Roman Empire" used. As conditions favorable to its founding were made by Julius Cæsar, I thought proper to begin the illustrations by showing a coin of the Dictator.

Caius Julius Cæsar. (Fig. 78.)

Shakespeare calls him "The foremost man of all this world."

Caius Octavius Cæsar Augustus, born 63 B. C., died 14 A. D., son of Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar. (Fig. 79.)

He was adopted by his uncle and then assumed the name of Cæsar, and at the same time changed the name of Octavius to Octavianus. At the age of thirty-six, or B. C. 27, the Senate invented the title of Augustus "the Venerable," and from that time it became the title of future emperors of the East and West.

One of my copper coins has on the obverse the head of Cæsar, on the reverse the head of Augustus with the inscription "Cæsar, Divi F.," son of the Divine Cæsar.

Another coin has a star on the reverse, commemorating the date of a large meteor, which appeared at the time of Cæsar's death and was accepted by the people as a symbol of his divinity. (Fig. 80.)

The Roman Empire originated with Augustus, and the coins shown will be of emperors of the world's foremost empire, which in time, as the Christian religion entered in the question of government, "became a Government having no boundaries, an Empire unique among governments of the world, possessing an Emperor recognized by all rulers as supreme over Church and State." Such a condition could not long exist, and the inevitable came. A conflict arose and the head of the State, representing temporal power, disputed with the head of the Church, the spiritual power. The Pope was victorious and the Emperor lost. The Pope, not yet satisfied, contested again, and became supreme, but the final result was that the throne of the Holy Roman Empire became vacant forever, and that once powerful body which existed with such potent influence throughout the middle ages ceased to exist, and the modern governments of Europe which arose during the one hundred years just passed are becoming again restive, and the readjustment of boundaries is now in progress, and what the end will be time alone will show.

Our third picture is that of a coin of Tiberius. (Fig. 81.)

I have not selected a gold one of this despicable man, but a

silver denarius, as being by name the best known coin in the world, the tribute money of the Bible.

"Show me the tribute money." . . . "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

The Roman Senate after the death of this execrated creature passed a decree calling in every coin bearing a portrait of Tiberius, in order to destroy as much as possible his memory. Fortunately for numismatists as well as historians, the decree was not fully carried out, and his coins in all metals have come down to us.

His mother was divorced from his father, that she might become the wife of Augustus, and as the adopted son of that great man he succeeded to the throne.

Claudius, reigned 41–54. (Fig. 82.)

The reverse of this coin is interesting on account of the triumphal arch with the words "De Britann." commemorating the conquest of the southern part of Britain, the emperor himself taking part. Upon his return to Rome, the victory was celebrated in triumph and the Senate gave him the surname of Britannicus.

The picture is that of Nero, in the three stages of his existence. He was born A. D. 37, died 68. (Figs. 83, 84, 85.)

We can assume that the first of the coins represents him when he ascended the throne at the early age of seventeen—a boy almost as handsome as the young Augustus, so familiar to us in the beautiful bust in the Vatican. As an evidence of the growing brute development, we may assign the second coin. The third coin we cannot be far wrong in placing near the date of his suicide, A. D. 68, at the age of thirty-one.

What a commentary on a life of debauchery is presented by these coins.

Emperor Domitian, 81–96. (Fig. 86.)

He was too bad to talk about, but the coin I show is one of the choicest of the Roman coins, and with the Hadrian next shown, is the finest work of my whole Roman series. They are a study in the art of portraiture as well as in die-sinking.

Emperor Hadrian, born A. D. 76, reigned from 117 to 168. (Fig. 87.)

He was brought up under the guardianship of Trajan, with whom he became a great favorite. In history Hadrian is handed down as one of the greatest benefactors of the empire. He was indefatigable in attention to all that interested the people of his

empire, looking after details as to what pertained to the highest concerns of government, and it is to be regretted that a serious blot should be recorded against his character. He was a cruel persecutor of the Christians in Gaul.

Marcus Aurelius, born A. D. 121, ascended the throne 161 and died 180. (Figs. 88, 89, 90.)

It would not do to pass such a well-known emperor as Marcus Aurelius, and I may interest you by showing three of his coins, depicting him quite differently. They are interesting to a numismatist, as they must also be to an historian, for Marcus Aurelius was a great man, leaving an indelible stamp upon the mentality of the world for all time. It is recorded of him, "No monarch ever lived more loved, or died more regretted than he."

Gordianus, father and son, known as the Two Gordians. (Figs. 91, 92.)

In these two emperors who ruled together we see exemplified the old adage, "Blood will tell."

Marcus Antonius Gordianus was born 157 and died at Carthage, 238.

On his father's side he was descended from the Gracchi, on his mother's, from the Emperor Trajan.

It is not often one reads among the dignitaries of the Roman Empire of a man prominent because of his mild and just disposition and for possessing a character for morals and dignity which brought him into public office.

What a high encomium has been passed upon him in the record that "his virtues made a marked impression on those he governed, winning the affection of the people of Africa," to which province he was appointed Pro-consul by the Emperor Maximinus.

Affairs in Rome were not in a peaceful condition, a not unusual state for the Eternal City.

The soldiers and people of Rome arose and deposed that detestable emperor, and although the father was eighty years of age they compelled Gordian and his son to assume the government of the empire, although absent, attending to their duties in Africa.

Upon the news of the elevation to the imperial throne of those good men, a jealous officer raised an insurrection in the African army in which the younger man was killed, and the old father, with a broken heart, committed suicide. Thus ended the life of the wealthiest men of Rome, honored and esteemed by all but the crafty assassin and his followers. Another sacrifice to duty.

Trebonianus Gallus, reigned from 251 to 253. (Fig. 93.)

It is pleasant to speak well of men, but when we cannot, we can show their portraits and in this case his looks do not belie him. The coin is shown simply for the radiant crown. It is not the first time this interesting crown is seen on a coin; a coin of Augustus has it, but it is the first one in my collection.

Constantine, born 274, died 337, reigned 306 to 337,—shows the emperor being crowned by Victory, holding the imperial globe in the right hand and a spear reversed in the left. (Figs. 94, 95.)

A coin of this great emperor must be interesting as the portraiture is so admirable that it cannot but appeal to members of a society interested in numismatic and antiquarian subjects.

A second coin of this emperor interested me much on account of its reverse. (Figs. 96, 97.) At the left hand is seen a captive, crouching with his hands tied behind his back, while to his right is the figure of a woman and a child, pleading with the great emperor, suggested by the large, commanding standing figure.

Constans, A. D. 337–350, the third son of Constantine, assassinated February 27, 360, in the thirtieth year of his age. He was a good warrior, but debauched and avaricious. The coin is shown on account of the beauty of the low relief, an example of skilful workmanship. (Fig. 98.)

Julian II, A. D. 351–363, known as the Apostate, nephew of the great Constantine, born at Constantinople in 331. (Fig. 99.) In the fourth year of his reign he made war upon the Persian Empire, and was slain on the banks of the Tigris, at the early age of thirty-one. He is one of the most familiarly known of the Roman emperors, and as such his coins are now shown. He was a great general, a man of much learning and a fine writer, possessing many valuable qualities and a wise knowledge of government, and applied himself upon assuming office to reform the luxury of the court, but in matters of religion he was weak, as the Christians viewed his acts. He restored the worship of idols, even taking part in the slaying of the victims on the altars and divining in the ceremony. Late writers contend that he was only apostate to the errors which had crept into the Christian religion, but this is hard to reconcile with the fact that "he took part with licentious priests and lascivious dancers in the temple," as one writer records.

He made himself conspicuous by wearing a long and bushy

beard, which one of the coins shows. (Fig. 100.) Among the courtiers he became known under the derisive appellation of the Goat.

Theodosius the Great, last ruler of the whole Roman Empire of the East and the West, was born 346, died 395. The empire had been separated by Valentinian and Valens in 364, but under Theodosius it was reunited for the last time in 392. His reign is especially remarkable for the formal destruction of paganism, and on account of this fact ecclesiastical writers of the time placed him upon a level with Constantine. (Figs. 101, 102.)

Honorius, born 384, died 423. (Fig. 103.)

To him was given in the year 395, at Milan, the sceptre of the West, and the great Roman Empire, being then and there separated into two parts, the kingdom of the East and the West.

Gibbon, when writing about Honorius, comments upon him in unfavorable terms when he says it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of the Great Theodosius, but he was right in overlooking the fact that, during his reign, for the last time was seen in the amphitheatre of Rome the inhuman combats of gladiators. History says "he resided ingloriously at Ravenna."

Romulus Augustulus. (Fig. 104.)

He was placed upon the throne 475 by Orestes, a favorite general of the Emperor Julius Nepos.

Odoacer the Goth assumed the title of the King of Italy in 476, stripped the purple from Romulus, but compassionately spared the life of the emperor on account of his youth, and sent him off to Campania to spend the rest of his days. This coin shows the last Emperor of the West in a direct and lawful line.

### The Restoration of the Western Empire.

As the chronological succession of the emperors in history is continued through the Western line rather than the Eastern, I will follow the same course after a short interruption, taking note of the state of affairs in the North, and the pedigree of the great man whose coin next appears.

"France and Germany at the time of the deposition of Romulus were nothing but a number of principalities. In 486, Clavis, chief of the Salian tribe, advanced from Flanders, wrested Gaul from the barbarians and formed a new state from the Bay of Biscay to the rivers Inn and Ems. It was in no sense a Gallic

monarchy, nor a kingdom, but rather a collection of the principalities held together by a single tribe and a single family, 'the Merovingians.'"

A lapse of some two hundred and fifty years takes place and the next distinguished man who comes under our notice is Pipin, Duke of the Franks, who died 714.

He was succeeded by his natural son, Charles Martel.

He was succeeded by his son, Pipin the Short, born 715, died 768.

He founded what history knows as the Carlovingian dynasty. He left his kingdom to his two sons, Carloman and Carl. The latter we know as Charlemagne.

The brothers did not agree, but Carloman conveniently dying, "the survivor found himself master of the whole of Gaul and western Germany, and fortunate wars in Italy, Spain and Germany added largely to his extensive dominions."

Charlemagne was born 742—but where, is uncertain. He died 814, having reigned only from 800.

While looking at the little silver penny and its crude letters "Carolus" one cannot help drawing a comparison between the civilization of France and Germany, if such can be judged by their money, and that of Rome and Constantinople, where a gold coinage had been maintained practically since the Roman Republic. (Fig. 105.)

We saw the coin of Romulus Augustulus, who was deposed in 476 by the Goth Odoacer, which act ended the western Roman Empire. "Pope Leo III realized that the spiritual head of Christendom could not dispense with the secular power, as represented by the Roman Empire, and that without it, the Church of Rome must fall. Upon this theory the Pope took a step toward which the events of the last fifty years had pointed." "The dominion of Rome was universal, so must it be eternal." The moment was opportune. The Emperor Leo IV had died in 775, and the widowed Empress Irene, equally famous for her beauty, her talents and her crimes, had deposed and blinded her son Constantine VI (780). A woman and an usurper sullied the throne of the world. "It was time to provide better for the most august of human offices, an election at Rome was as valid as at Constantinople, in the biased judgment of the Pope."

Bryce graphically tells of the entry into Rome of the Frankish host under Charlemagne. "The Pope's cause was heard. Charle-

magne remained in Rome for some weeks, and on Christmas Day 800 he heard mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, the spot which tradition had hallowed as that of the apostle's martyrdom. From the bishop's throne the Pope arose and as the reading of the gospel ended, he advanced to where Charlemagne, who had changed his simple Frankish dress for the sandals and chalmys of a Roman patrician, knelt in prayer by the high altar, and in sight of all the Pope placed upon the brow of the Barbarian chieftain the diadem of the Cæsars, then bent in obeisance before him."

From henceforth the Western line of emperors was continued after a lapse of 324 years, "and is so recognized in history, but at the same time the action of the Pope was as unprecedented as it was illegal."

Now we come to a not unusual phase of life. Charlemagne desired a transfer of the Eastern crown, or at least a recognition of his own. How better than the easiest way? Irene's crime did not prevent him from seeking her hand in marriage, but her prime minister opposed and Irene was dethroned and exiled.

"The Pope could create, but he could not destroy. He set up an emperor who ruled the West, but Constantinople saw differently, and historians therefore speak of the Eastern and Western Empire until 1453, when Constantinople fell before the Mohammedan."

"Charlemagne was held as the legitimate successor, not only of Romulus Augustulus, but also of the Eastern line, hence Constantine VI, the sixty-seventh emperor in order from Augustus, is followed, without a break, by Charlemagne. As Constantine founded, so Charlemagne erects on a firmer basis, the connection of Church and State."

It may be of interest to mention the historian's view of the physical side of Charlemagne: "for strength and stature he was almost superhuman, in swimming and hunting he was unsurpassed, steadfast and terrible in fight, but to his friends he was gentle and condescending."

## Barbarians.

An interesting sentence in Bryce is enlightening and noticeable; even though it has no direct bearing upon our subject, it gives such a good idea of how the Roman civilization had its influence, and indicates the natural progress in the world movement, in the development of the growing population of the world.

"It was along the frontiers that Roman arts and culture affeeted the Teutonic raees. Commerce was brisk. Roman envoys penetrated the forests and eourts of rude ehieftains, adventurous barbarians entered the provinees, sometimes to admire, oftener to take serviee under the Roman flag. Thus in many ways was the old antagonism broken down and then when the final movement eame, the Teutonie tribes entered, not as savage strangers, but as eolonists, knowing something of the system into whieh they came, and not unwilling to be considered its members, despising the degenerate provineials who struck no blow in their own defenee."

"A deeper awe would strike them as they gazed, crowding worshippers and stately eeremonial of Christianity, most unlike their own rude sacrifices."

"The exelamation of the Goth Athanaric, when led into the market-plaee of Constantinople, may stand for the feelings of his nation, 'Without doubt, the Emperor is a God upon earth, and he who attaeks him is guilty in his own blood.' "

What a pieture is here given of the eonditions of the eountries and the people of that day. Athanarie, the Visigoth, died 381. The emperor, Valens (364–378), made him sue for peaee; therefore it is likely that it was he to whom Bryee alludes and, if so, the scene described took plaee about four hundred years before the great Charlemagne appeared on the seene.

We now return to Constantinople, where the Emperor Areadius had assumed the purple as Emperor of the Eastern Empire.

Arcadius was born 383, died 408. (Fig. 106.)

He was the oldest son of Theodosius. In 395, a few months before the death of his father, he sueeeded him as Emperor of the East, and on aeeount of his being the first emperor reigning alone at Constantinople as part of the Roman Empire, I selected his eoin as being of an emperor who began a period of such deep interest in the world's progress.

"Areadius was a feeble man, but of severe religious orthodoxy." How like the present day, a great and good father with indifferent sons.

I would again quote Bryee in his description of the army of the East as a most interesting historical faet, and a reader cannot help but wonder at the changed conditions of the Roman eitizen.

"After Constantine the barbarians formed a majority of

the troops, and after Theodosius a Roman is the exception. In the time of Arcadius the soldiers of the Eastern Empire were almost all Goths."

In this age of luxury, 1912, it may interest my fellow members to hear how Arcadius appeared to St. Chrysostom. "The Emperor wears on his head either a diadem or a crown of gold decorated with precious stones of an inestimable value. These ornaments and his purple garments are reserved for his sacred person alone, and his robes are embroidered with the figures of golden dragons."

"His throne is of massive gold . . . the large splendid boss on the midst of their (the guards') shields is encircled with small bosses which represent the shape of a human eye. . . ."

"The chariot itself is of pure and solid gold."

Justinian—527–565. (Fig. 107.)

"Surnamed the Great, the most famous of all the emperors of the Eastern Empire, was by birth a barbarian and at an early age went to Constantinople and there received an excellent education."

"His uncle, Justin, ascended the throne in 518, and before his death associated Justinian with him in the government, and on the death of the uncle he succeeded without opposition and ruled for forty-seven years."

When reading the history of the early times and the mode of life of the people, their love of war and the absence of those things which impart so much to our lives, it comes as a surprise when our attention is attracted by a man, born a barbarian, having the attributes of Justinian the Great.

History tells us "he had an extraordinary power of assimilating knowledge of all kinds; he took a keen interest alike in statecraft and architecture, in theology and law, in finance and music."

"He was a man of such untiring energy that superstitious men whispered that he was inspired by a restless demon."

Justinian was a man of the world or he would never have married Theodora, to the horror of all respectable people. Of her we shall hear later. "He was easily led, and his wife, who had neither principle nor pity, exerted an influence over him not always for the good."

"His reign was filled with great events, both in peace and war, but his claim to greatest honor was for his legal reforms."

What an anomalous character!

It is to this emperor that we are indebted for the Mosque

of St. Sophia in Constantinople, practically standing to-day as when dedicated in 538. A new dome, twenty-five feet higher, has been added because of an earthquake injury to the original, and the Turks have added the interesting minarets.

A writer says, "of the exterior appearance of the church it is certainly disappointing, but within, it is beyond all question one of the most beautiful creations of human art."

This wife was so remarkable a character that I have included her in my story, although without a photograph, there being no coin of her. I allude to Theodora, the wife of Justinian, "who was by all accounts the most beautiful woman of the age."

She was the daughter of an animal trainer in the circus, and a public dancer, and the life she led was the lowest until Justinian married her, with the full knowledge of her scandalous career.

It is written, "that in brain power and of will she was fit enough occupant of the Imperial throne whatever her past life has been."

After reaching the throne she became a changed woman, founding many charitable institutions, among them a great institution, capable of holding 500 fallen women who desired a retreat. This was in 528–540, when we are not in the habit of associating in our minds such an institution with Europe 1400 years ago, and as the work of a cruel and vindictive woman.

Heraclius, born 610–641. (Fig. 108.)

This emperor found, upon ascending the throne, the empire in a deplorable condition. The barbarians of the North were laying waste its European provinces while the Persians were ravaging the east, but under Heraclius a great change took place, and success once more favored the Romans, and his great victories over the Persians covered him with glory, and ambassadors came from the remotest extremes of Europe and the East to congratulate him upon having vanquished the hereditary enemies of Rome.

He had extended the Roman power to the farthermost point it ever reached, a memorable achievement and worthy of note. He ended his days in luxurious ease in Constantinople.

Another coin of Heraclius and his two sons, Heraclionus and Constantine. (Fig. 109.)

I thought these three figures interesting and worthy of a place upon the screen.

Constantinus, 641–668. (Fig. 110.)

This coin is shown on account of the long beard worn by this emperor, which is so very different from the style of wearing the beard at that period that I selected the coin as being noteworthy.

Leo III, Emperor of the East, was born 680. He was raised to the throne 717, and died 741.

We have in this coin the portrait of a great historical character, too important to pass by. (Fig. 111.)

In the year following the beginning of his reign, Constantinople was attacked by the Saracens under Solyman and Omar II with an immense army, the siege lasting two years, 718–720, "but the skill and foresight of the great General was crowned with success, and both army and fleet were defeated, and had to fly before Leo."

"Leo was more than a good soldier, he was one who looked deep into things and formed his own views in politics as well as religion, therefore we cannot be surprised that having come from a land where Mohammedanism existed with its simple worship, that he should have been moved by the taunts of the Moslem, that Christianity meant only the worship of idols."

In 726 Leo promulgated an edict for the removal of images from all the churches of the empire, as the worship of images was fast obscuring the more spiritual part of worship, inaugurating thereby the party of the Iconoclasts, a schism which has separated the Christian Church since that date.

It was this act of Leo which caused Pope Gregory III to appeal to Charles Martel, to whom we have just alluded, the virtual ruler of the Frankish nation.

At the call of Pope Hadrian, seventy-two years later, Charlemagne, the then chieftain of the Frankish nation, swept down upon the Lombards, seized the crown and then proceeded to Rome and the story which followed has already been told.

The reverse of this coin is interesting as showing the elevation of the Cross as a religious symbol, giving it a prominence which it did not have before, a rebuke to those who had introduced representation of saints in pictures and carvings, as objects for worship. (Fig. 112.)

Irene, 752–803, was a woman of strong character, and although a poor Athenian orphan, she understood how to firmly govern a feeble husband as well as to conduct the government. (Fig. 113.) During her rule of ten years after the death of her husband, Leo IV, she restored image worship.

As her son, Constantine VI, approached maturity, he desired to assume his proper position. A controversy ensued and the mother had both of his eyes put out, after which she reigned in "prosperity and splendor."

This is the woman Charlemagne desired to marry that he might unite the empires of the East and West—both were disappointed and she ended her days in poverty on the island of Lesbos.

Constantine X, and Romanus II, 945–950.

This coin is interesting on account of the head of Christ on the reverse. (Fig. 114.)

Michael IV, ascended the throne 1034. He retired to a monastery and died 1041. (Fig. 115.)

He was a weak character, subject to epileptic fits.

We see for the first time the dished form coinage, for which reason this coin is shown.

Manuel I, born 1120, began to reign in 1143, and died 1180. The reverse of this coin is only shown on account of the interesting drapery of the emperor. From it a good idea can be gained of the style of costume worn by a ruler at this period. It is also a good example of the dished form of planchet used in this peculiar form of coinage. (Fig. 116.)

Little can be said of this emperor, except that he was continually at war and raising money by oppressive taxes. The bright spot in his history was the foundation of the silk manufacture in Italy, an unintentional good deed in sending some Greek prisoners to Italy who were familiar with the art of silk weaving. They put their knowledge to such good use that a trade was started which has been a lasting blessing to the Italian nation.

The obverse of this coin is a very barbaric head of Christ and is of little interest in itself.

Frederick II, 1212–1250. (Fig. 117.)

This coin is so different in style of art that one pauses in wonderment for the reason of it. In the whole series of the coins of the Holy Roman Empire of the middle ages, there is nothing similar. The bold relief is most beautifully executed.

"Frederick II, under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III, acquired an extensive knowledge of both ancient and modern languages, art and different sciences. He was chivalric, active and energetic and is recognized as one of the most distinguished monarchs of the middle ages." He was a grandson of the great Fred-

erick Barbarossa, and, if time permitted, it would interest you to see the vast difference in the coinage of these two great men, their deaths being only sixty years apart, Barbarossa 1190 and Frederick 1250.

Francis II, born 1768, died 1835. (Fig. 118.)

Seeing that the empire was in the last stage of dissolution and that even were it to survive, it would pass from the House of Hapsburg to that of Bonaparte, he abdicated and assumed instead the title of hereditary Emperor of Austria under the name of Francis I, first Emperor of Austria.

And the Holy Roman Empire is at an end forever.

I have shown you photographs of some of my coins and have told you in the time allotted me some of the pleasure which they have brought me as I wandered among the mazes of history, and I hope I have been able to interest you in some of my acquaintances with whom I have spent many cold and stormy winter evenings.

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